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THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



1948

VOL. LXXXIII, No. 4

WHOLE No. 496

NOTES

Loyalty to the State

The Constitution of the Indian Union is fast taking shape and it will not be long now before it is placed before the world. But in all such matters, vital to the life of a nation, the most essential ingredient is loyalty to the State. We may have the highest ideals of democracy incorporated in the Constitution, but if the executive is disloyal and self-seeking, then of what avail is it all? Today the enthusiasm of the masses is slowly dying out, and a sense of futility is gradually gaining ground, which if not checked in time, will end in chaos.

The most essential duty of the Central executive, starting from the very top, is to exhibit to the Nation an example of staunch loyalty to the State. If they fail, then despite all high-sounding phrases and all wonderful "Planning for the Future," the results would be dismal and catastrophic. Do our leaders realize that the Man in the Street is becoming a cynical pessimist, brooding over the nepotism and jobbery in the appointments to the higher services at the Centre, the total laxness of the heads of departments and the consequent failure to combat the bribery, corruption and inefficiency that permeates the entire administration.

What is the use of planning for industry when all industry and commerce could be held up today by corrupt officials, who utilize the control machinery for the sole purpose of extortion of bribes? What is the use of export control when the black-marketeer can subvert his way past all barriers in broad daylight for the passage of millions of rupees worth of essential goods? There is an acute shortage of railway transport, we are told, but wagons and priorities seem to get wings when judicious sums—ranging from fifty to five hundred rupees—are handed over at the right place. Textile goods cannot be got for love or money in the "open" market, but go to any bazar in any city, town or village, you can get whatever you want from the black-marketeer at double the marked price. There is a control system for the export of essential commodities to Pakistan, but go to any frontier station, you will see open markets for so-called smuggled goods,

goods smuggled, that is, with the open connivance of those whose duty it is to check the transit. As a result there is a vast flow of "controlled" goods across the border, *in one direction only, so far as the Eastern frontier is concerned.* For strange though it may seem, it must be admitted that the masses of Eastern Pakistan, lacking though they might be in education, culture and the higher human traits, do possess a far stronger sense of loyalty to the State in this respect at least. Possibly that is because of the absence on the other side of the counterparts of our mercantile bag-barons, bloated with ill-gotten gains, and totally devoid of any scruples, principles or higher ideals.

Bribery, corruption, nepotism and patronage of unworthy and unscrupulous job-hunters, are still as rife in the State as ever before. There have been many instances in the High Command when loyalty to undeserving associates has taken precedence of loyalty to the State. The Cabinet cannot deny that on many a crucial juncture the interests of the particular set have overridden the interests of the Nation. If this continues then how can they expect the mass to remain staunch in the face of privations and loyal in the midst of disruptive influence? As for the provinces, in some the people have already begun to curse the name of the Congress and others will follow suit if things do not mend.

Let us face realities. The first year of our freedom is already two-thirds gone, and the day of stock-taking is coming near. Has the weight of popular sanction behind our Ministries grown or diminished, is the morale of the masses higher than what it was in August, 1947?

Plans and schemes there are galore, in the Centre and in the Provinces, for the present and the future. But the only plan that seems to be working smoothly today is that of looting and fleecing the sorely tried, and badly mal-administered masses. And unless our Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister can evolve and put into active operation a master-plan to rectify these evils, all the other plans would be as nought.

interests and periodically report to the President and the Governors. Power has also been given to the President to appoint Commissions to report on the administration of the Scheduled areas and the welfare of the Scheduled tribes and also to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes. The action taken by the President on such reports shall be communicated to Parliament.

Every right carries a corresponding duty with it. In India, under the British, it has been seen that minorities enjoyed rights without any corresponding duties. The Geneva Convention of the League of Nations provided that any minority that developed a fissiparous tendency within the body politic forfeits its claim to any special rights and privileges. But in India the Ruling Power encouraged the minorities to develop fissiparous tendencies in the country and strengthened them by granting rights without duties. The inevitable result is Divided India of today. The Muslims have got their own homeland which is declared to be an Islamic State and from where non-Muslims have been driven out. Anglo-Indians worked hand in gloves with them in all their anti-national acts. Now, in addition to their own dreamland, both of them are going to enjoy almost all the same special rights and privileges that they did under the British, this time guaranteed by the Indian Constitution itself. It is a gesture that is seemingly Quixotic, but we hope that the expected results would be forthcoming.

Union Executive and Parliament

Part V deals with the Union.

The Union Executive.—The head of the State is to be the President of India. All executive power of the Union is vested in the President, to be exercised by him on the advice of responsible Ministers. He is to be elected by the members of an Electoral College consisting of the members of both Houses of Parliament, and the elected members of the Legislatures of the States. He is to hold office for a term of five years and is eligible for re-election once, but only once.

The President must be a citizen, not less than thirty-five years of age and qualified for election as a member of the Lower House of Parliament.

The President may be impeached for violation of the Constitution. The Draft makes provision for a Vice-President also. He is to be the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States and is to be elected by the members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at a joint sitting in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. He is to hold office for a term of five years.

Whenever the office of President becomes vacant, the Vice-President discharges its duties until another President is elected.

All doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of a President or Vice-

President are to be inquired into and decided by the Supreme Court whose decision is to be final. The Draft provides for a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head, to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. The Council is to be collectively responsible to the House of the People.

All executive action of the Government of India is to be expressed to be taken in the name of the President. It is the duty of the Prime Minister to furnish information to the President relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation whenever the President may call for the same. Provision has been made also for the appointment of an Attorney-General corresponding to the Advocate-General for India under the existing Constitution.

The Union Parliament is to consist of a President and two Houses to be known respectively as the Council of States and the House of the People. The Council of States is to consist of 250 members of whom 15 members are to be nominated by the President to represent literature, art, science, etc., and the remainder are to be the representatives of the States. The House of the People is to consist of not more than 500 representatives of the territories of the States elected on the basis of adult suffrage, and there is to be not less than one representative for every 750,000 of the population and not more than one representative for every 500,000 of the population.

The Council of States will not be subject to dissolution, but as nearly as possible one-third of the members will retire on the expiration of every second year.

The House of the People is to continue for a period of five years and the expiration of that period operates as its dissolution, but provision has been made for extension of the duration of the House of the People for a period not exceeding one year during any emergency.

The usual provisions for the summoning, prorogation and dissolution of the Houses of the Union Parliament, the conduct of business therein, the disqualifications of members thereof and the Legislative procedure of the two Houses including procedure in financial matters have been included generally on the lines of similar provisions contained in the Government of India Act, 1935.

It has however been provided, following the practice prevalent in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, that at the commencement of every session the President shall address both Houses of Parliament assembled together and inform Parliament of the cause of its summons.

A special procedure has been prescribed with regard to Money Bills on the lines of the practice in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

It has been also provided that in the Union Parliament business shall be transacted in Hindi or

English but that the Presiding Officer of the House may permit any member, who cannot adequately express himself in either of these languages, to address the House in his mother tongue.

Power has been given to the President to promulgate Ordinances at any time except when both the Houses of Parliament are in session. The President will promulgate such ordinances on the advice of his Ministers and such Ordinances will cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Union Parliament.

The President has been given power to issue a Proclamation of Emergency when a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened whether by war or domestic violence. The provisions relating to the Proclamation of Emergency are modelled on the existing provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Federal Judicature

There will be a Supreme Court of India consisting of a Chief Justice of India and not less than seven Judges. Provision has been made for the appointment by the Chief Justice of India of Judges of High Courts as *ad hoc* Judges at the sittings of the Supreme Court for specified periods following the practice prevalent in the Supreme Court of Canada. Provision has also been made for the attendance of retired Judges at sittings of the Supreme Court as in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America.

Any person who has held office as a Judge of the Supreme Court (or of a High Court) is prohibited from practising in any court in India.

The Supreme Court is to have original, appellate and advisory jurisdiction. Its original jurisdiction extends to disputes between the Union and a State or between two States, if and in so far as the dispute involves any question whether of law or fact on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends.

Disputes arising out of certain agreements have, however, been left out of the purview of the Supreme Court. The appellate jurisdiction of the Court extends to cases involving the interpretation of the Constitution and to all other cases from which an appeal now lies to the Federal Court or to His Majesty-in-Council.

The minimum pecuniary limit of the subject matter of the dispute in the case of civil appeals has been fixed at Rs. 20,000. The Supreme Court has advisory jurisdiction in respect of questions which may be referred to that Court by the President for opinion.

Provision has been also made for special leave to appeal to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree or final order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of India.

In a foot-note the Committee has observed that in the Supreme Court of the United States of America all the Judges of the Court are entitled to participate in the hearing of every matter, that the Court never sits in divisions and that the Judges of that Court attach the greatest importance to this practice.

The Committee has expressed the opinion that this practice should be followed in India at least in two classes of cases, namely, those which involve questions of interpretation of the Constitution and those which are referred to the Supreme Court for opinion by the President, and that whether the same practice should not be extended to other classes of cases may be left to be regulated by Parliament by law.

It has been reported that the Supreme Court will come into being in October next.

The State Executive

India is described as a Union of States and for the sake of uniformity the Units of the Union have been described as 'States' whether they are known at present as Governors' Provinces or Chief Commissioners' Provinces or Indian States. The States have been divided into three classes:

- (a) States enumerated in Part I of the First Schedule which correspond to the existing Governors' Provinces;
- (b) States enumerated in Part II of the First Schedule which correspond to the existing Chief Commissioners' Provinces; and
- (c) States enumerated in Part III of the First Schedule which correspond to the Indian States which have acceded to the Dominion.

In addition, the territory of the Union includes the Andaman and Nicobar Islands enumerated in Part IV of the First Schedule and any other territory which may be acquired by the Union.

Provision has been made for the admission, establishment and formation of new States.

Part VI deals with States corresponding to Governor's Provinces.

Each State will have a Governor and the executive power of the State is vested in him.

As to the mode of selection of the Governor, the Draft contains alternative provisions. One alternative, following the decision of the Constituent Assembly, provides that the Governor shall be elected by direct vote of all persons who have the right to vote at a general election for the Legislative Assembly of the State. The other alternative, favoured by some of the members of the Committee who feel strongly that the co-existence of a Governor elected by the people and a Chief Minister responsible to the Legislature might lead to friction and consequent weakness in administration, provides that the Governor shall be appointed by the President from a panel of four persons (who need not be residents of the State concerned) elected by the Legislature of the State.

The term of office of the Governors is to be five years. Provision has been made for impeachment of a Governor for violation of the Constitution.

The Committee has not thought it necessary to make any provision for Deputy Governors, because a Deputy Governor will have no function to perform so long as the Governor is there.

At the Centre, the position is different, because the Vice-President is also the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States; but in most of the States there will be no Upper House and it will not be possible to give the Deputy Governor functions similar to those of the Vice-President. There is a provision in the Draft enabling the Legislature of the State (or the President) to make necessary arrangements for the discharge of the functions of the Governor in any unforeseen contingency.

Provision has been also made for a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. The Governor is to act on the advice of his Ministers, except in respect of certain matters, such as, the summoning and dissolving of the Legislature, the appointment of the Chairman and members of the State Public Service Commission and the Auditor-in-Chief of the State and the issue of a proclamation suspending the constitution in case of grave emergency threatening the peace and tranquillity of the State. This last-mentioned power can be exercised only for a period not exceeding two weeks and the Governor is required to report the matter to the President.

The boundaries of the existing provinces have been drawn most arbitrarily by the British authorities as dictated by immediate political expediency and in their own administrative interests. It is a pity that the same boundaries have been preserved. Arrangement has been made to create Andhra into a separate province. Some other linguistic areas claiming to alter the existing boundaries are also getting a sympathetic hearing. But Bengal's claim on its own territories unjustly transferred to Bihar have been completely cold-shouldered. It has been proposed to set up a Boundary Commission of the Constituent Assembly and so far we have been able to gather, Bengal's claim will be excluded from the terms of reference of the proposed Commission. Provisions of Section 3 of the Draft Constitution will deprive Bengal for ever of all constitutional means of redress of her long-standing grievance against Assam and Bihar.

The State Legislature

The State Legislature is to consist of the Governor and two Houses (Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council) in a few States and one House (Legislative Assembly) in all other States. The names of the States which will have two Houses have been left blank for the present.

The Legislative Assembly is to consist of members (not being in any case more than 300 or less than 60) who are to be chosen by direct election on the basis of adult suffrage in territorial constituencies. There is to be not more than one member for every lakh of the population, except in the case of certain areas known as the "Autonomous districts" of Assam.

The total number of members of the Legislative Council of a State having such a Council is not to exceed 25 per cent of the total number of members in the Legislative Assembly of the State. One-half of the members of the Council are to be chosen from panels on a functional basis and one-third of the members to be elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and the remainder are to be nominated by the Governor.

The Legislative Assembly is to continue for five years and the expiration of that period operates as its dissolution. The Legislative Council will not be subject to dissolution but as nearly as may be one-third of the members will retire on the expiration of every third year.

The usual provisions for summoning, proroguing and dissolving the House or Houses of the Legislature of the State, the conduct of business therein, the disqualifications of members thereof and the legislative procedure, including procedure in financial matters, have been included.

It has been provided that in the Legislature of a State business shall be transacted in the language or languages generally used in that State or in Hindi or English but that the Presiding Officer of the Legislature may permit any member, who cannot adequately express himself in either of these languages, to address the Legislature in his mother tongue.

Emergency Powers of the Governor

Powers have been provided for the promulgation of Ordinances by the Governor of a State at any time except when the Legislature of the State is in session. The Governor will promulgate such Ordinances on the advice of his Ministers and they cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Legislature of the State.

Provision has been made empowering the Governor in cases of grave emergency threatening the peace and tranquillity of the State to issue a proclamation suspending certain provisions of the Constitution for a period of two weeks only, and the Governor is required to report the matter to the President. Upon receipt of the report the President may either revoke the proclamation or issue a fresh proclamation of his own, the effect of which will be to put the Central Executive in place of the State Executive and the Central Legislature in place of the State Legislature or, in other words, the State concerned will become a centrally administered area for

the duration of the proclamation. This replaces the "Section 93 regime" under the Act of 1935.

State Judiciary

Provisions with regard to High Courts in States corresponding to the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces are mostly the same as in the Government of India Act, 1935. It has, however, been provided that a Judge of a High Court may hold office until he attains the age of 60 years to such higher age not exceeding 65 years as may be fixed in this behalf by the Legislature of the State. It has also been provided that a person who has held office as a Judge of a High Court shall be prohibited from practising in any court or before any authority within the territory of India.

Provision has also been made for the employment of retired Judges at sittings of the High Court following the practice in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America.

It has also been provided that the Union Parliament may by law extend the jurisdiction of a High Court to or exclude the jurisdiction of a High Court from any State other than the State in which the Court has its principal seat.

The Union and the State

Part IX deals with the legislative and administrative relations between the Union and the States. For the most part, the Drafting Committee has made no change in the Legislative Lists as recommended by the Union Powers Committee and adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

The Committee has, however, provided that when a subject which is normally in the State List assumes national importance, then the Union Parliament may legislate upon it. To prevent any unwarranted encroachment upon State powers it has been provided that this can be done only if the Council of States, which may be said to represent the States as Units, passes a resolution to that effect by a two-thirds majority.

The Committee has also considered it desirable to put into the Concurrent List the whole subject of "succession" instead of only "succession to property other than agricultural land."

The Committee has also included in the Concurrent List all matters in respect of which parties are now governed by their personal law, so that the enactment of a uniform law in India in these matters may be facilitated. While putting land acquisition for the purposes of the Union into the Union List and land acquisition for the purpose of a State in the State List, the Committee has provided that the principles on which compensation for acquisition has to be determined shall in all cases be in the Concurrent List in order that there may be some uniformity in this matter.

In addition, in view of the present abnormal

circumstances which require Central control over essential supplies, it has been provided, on the lines of the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946, that, for a term of five years from the commencement of the Constitution, trade and commerce in and the production, supply and distribution of, certain essential commodities, such as, cotton textiles, food-stuffs, and petroleum, as also the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons, shall be on the same footing as Concurrent List subjects.

As regards the administrative relations between the Union and the States provision has been made for enabling a State which corresponds to an Indian State to enter into agreement with the Union or with any State which corresponds to a Governor's Province for the undertaking of executive, legislative and judicial powers in the former State by the Union or the latter State. Provision for settlement of the disputes regarding inter-States' water-supplies on the lines of the existing provision in the Government of India Act, 1935, has also been included.

As respects inter-State trade and commerce, all preferences or discrimination to one State over another have been prohibited. Provision has, however, been made to enable any State to impose reasonable restrictions in the public interest.

Provision has also been made for the appointment by the President of an inter-State Council for the settlement of disputes between the States and for the better co-ordination of policy.

End of Communal Politics in India

The Indian Parliament has adopted a resolution declaring that no communal organisation should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the *bona fide* religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community. It recommends legislative and administrative steps to prevent such activities. The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, accepted the resolution and in doing so made it clear that so far as the implementation of it was concerned, more especially in regard to the legislative aspect of it, it would have to be very carefully considered and it would ultimately have to come up before the House.

The resolution, which was moved by Shri Ananta-sayanam Ayyangar, reads :

Whereas it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity that communalism should be eliminated from Indian life, the Assembly is of opinion that no communal organisation which by its constitution or by the exercise of discretionary power vested in any of its officers or organs, admits to or excludes from its membership persons on grounds of religion, race and caste, or any of them, should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the *bona fide* religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community, and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities should be taken.

The resolution will have far-reaching effects. It marks the end of the most pernicious communal politics introduced into this country by Britain which has spelled disaster on millions of innocent Indian families. The communal politics of the last ten years have taught us that separate electorates and reservation of seats in the legislatures and reservation of posts in the services on communal grounds have not improved the lot of those whose interests were purported to have been safeguarded but have killed the usefulness and efficiency of both the legislature and the administration. Corruption and nepotism are only the handmaids of this policy of communal reservations. Allocation of seats and posts on grounds of backwardness and inefficiency never improves the bodies into which they are placed, on the contrary, they pull down the general standard of efficiency because they act as clogs on the wheels of the legislative, executive and judicial machineries of the society.

After the passing of the resolution, the Constitution Act of Free India should drop the principle of communal reservations conceded in the Draft. It is understood that the view that there should be no more reservations on communal basis is gaining ground among the members of the Constituent Assembly. It is reported that the committee, which is finalising the minorities rights, is likely to give a go-by to the principle of reservation excepting the backward classes. We think that reservations should not be made even for them. Instead, let them have their fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution making them enforceable at law so that they may not be encroached upon in any way. It is much better both for them and also for the Nation that they should have full facilities for education so that they may qualify themselves for open competition with the other members of the society. In the matter of coming to the Legislature and entering the services they must be treated on an absolutely equal footing with all citizens irrespective of religion, caste or creed. Substantial allocations out of the general education funds may be reserved for granting extra educational facilities for the minority communities and backward classes but it must be made clear to them that entry into the brain-system of the society represented by the Legislature and its nervous system, the administrative machinery must be strictly regulated on grounds of merit and quality alone. The presence of even one single diseased tissue in any one of them may kill the entire body corporate. Ten years of communal politics and communal administration is a sufficient pointer in this direction.

The Government and Universities

The Central Government of the Indian Union have constituted the University Grants Committee of 9 members with the Rt. Hon'ble M. R. Jayakar as Chairman. The other members are Srimati Hansa Mehta (Bombay), Dr. Swanti Swarup Bhatnagar (Delhi and E. Punjab), Dr.

Meghnad Saha (Calcutta), Sir Homi Mody (Bombay), Dr. Subbarayan (Madras), Dr. Zakir Husain (Delhi), Mr. K. Zacharia (Travancore) and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. The Committee will have a life of 5 years, and its duty is to make enquiries and make recommendations, regarding:

- (i) the lines on which the Universities and other institutions of higher learning should develop,
- (ii) the additional amounts in the form of grants-in-aid from public funds required for them, and
- (iii) the co-ordination of their activities with a view to avoiding unnecessary overlapping.

When the talk of educational reconstruction is so much in the air, and a general drive to expedite it is in the offing, it is hoped that the Central Government will make a positive contribution to clarifying the ideas and laying down the lines of future development. We have heard the former Premier of West Bengal, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, holding forth that higher education should depend on private help for functioning, and that the State should concentrate on what is known as "mass education", the field which has been neglected for the whole period of British regime. We have no desire to enter into an argument on this subject, because we refuse to accept this compartmentalism in education that Dr. Ghosh favoured. What we find in other countries differs wholly from his ideas. The *Worldover Press* reported some time ago that the State in Britain has increased its grants to Universities to well over Rs. 10 crores, that "State scholarships have been doubled, and by far the greater number of undergraduates now in residence receive grants from Rs. 2,600 to Rs. 4,200 from Government sources. No one has to work through college." It is not possible in this country to fully realize the significance of this State help to equalize conditions for all the rich and the poor in the field of education. That is Socialism "in action" in one department of the people's life. The ideas represented by Dr. Ghosh were based on the conception that there was a conflict between higher and lower education inherent in the scheme of things. If we are to build up a better India, this old conception has to be thrown overboard, and an integrated education brought into use. The neglect of centuries has to be made up in as many years. The Sargent Scheme had spoken of a 40-years programme for the literacy and education of the whole people. Very few have accepted this long trial. The alien State in India had been afraid to hustle India. Our National State has no reason to fear its own people. And we have no doubt that our people will respond as eagerly to the call for national reconstruction as British University students have done to the call for "effort" for their "national" recovery. The following from the "British Information Services" Bulletin is worth knowing:

Thousands of university students in Britain today are responding to their country's call for service by devoting their week-ends to the national recovery effort, doing all sorts of manual tasks such as the unloading of wagons and helping with excavation work.

Now, with hospitals desperately short of staff, an

advance party of 23 girls and seven young men from London University has volunteered to work full-time in hospitals, instead of going on holiday.

Forty others have volunteered to work at weekends starting on January 24.

The student volunteers will do the work of ward orderlies including general cleaning tasks, polishing and dusting. They will also help in the preparation and serving of meals for the patients.

An official of the National Union of Students remarked the other day: "We are drawing volunteers from 25 colleges, schools of medicine and polytechnics. We want to get everyone to play his part."

Industrial Policy of the India Government

The long-awaited industrial policy of the Government of India has been announced. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Minister for Industries and Supplies, presented on April 7 to the Indian Parliament a resolution on the Government of India's individual policy. The resolution was debated upon and accepted. The following is the text of the resolution :

"The Government of India have given careful thought to the economic problems facing the country. The Nation has now set itself to establish a social order where justice and equality of opportunity shall be secured to all the people. The immediate objective is to provide educational facilities and health services on a much wider scale, and to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by exploiting the latent resources of the country, increasing production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the services of the community. For this purpose, careful planning and integrated effort over the whole field of national activity are necessary and the Government of India propose to establish a National Planning Commission to formulate programmes of development and to secure their execution. The present statement, however, confines itself to Government's policy in the industrial field.

"Any improvement in the economic conditions of the country postulates an increase in national wealth. A mere redistribution of existing wealth would make no essential difference to the people and would merely mean the distribution of poverty. A dynamic national policy must, therefore, be directed to a continuous increase in production by all possible means, side by side with measures to secure its equitable distribution. In the present state of the Nation's economy, when the mass of the people are below the subsistence level, the emphasis should be on the expansion of production, both agricultural and industrial, and in particular on the production of capital equipment of goods satisfying the basic needs of the people, and of commodities the export of which will increase earnings of foreign exchange.

"The problem of State participation in industry and the conditions in which private enterprise should

be allowed to operate must be judged in this context. There can be no doubt that the State must play a progressively active role in the development of industries, but ability to achieve the main objectives should determine the immediate extent of State responsibility and the limits to private enterprise. Under present conditions, the mechanism and the resources of the State may not permit it to function forthwith in industry as widely as may be desirable. The Government of India are taking steps to remedy the situation. In particular, they are considering steps to create a body of men trained in business methods and management. They feel, however, that for some time to come, the State could contribute more quickly to the increase of national wealth by expanding its present activities wherever it is already operating and by concentrating on new units of production in other fields, rather than on acquiring and running existing units. Meanwhile, private enterprise, properly directed and regulated, has a valuable role to play.

"On these considerations the Government have decided that the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy, and the ownership and management of railway transport should be the exclusive monopoly of the Central Government. Further, in any emergency, the Government would always have the power to take over any industry vital for national defence. In the case of the following industries, the State—which, in this context, includes Central, Provincial and State Governments and other public authorities like municipal corporations—will be exclusively responsible for the establishment of new undertakings, except where, in the national interest, the State itself finds it necessary to secure the co-operation of private enterprise subjected to such control and regulation as the Central Government may prescribe.

"1. Coal (the Indian Coal Fields Committee's proposals will be generally followed). 2. Iron and steel. 3. Aircraft manufacture. 4. Shipbuilding. 5. Manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus, excluding radio receiving sets. 6. Mineral oils.

"While the inherent right of the State to acquire any existing industrial undertaking will always remain, and will be exercised whenever the public interest requires it, Government have decided to let existing undertakings in these fields develop for a period of ten years, during which they will be allowed all facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion.

"At the end of this period, the whole matter will be reviewed and a decision taken in the light of circumstances obtaining at the time. If it is decided that the State should acquire any unit, the fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution will be observed and compensation will be awarded on a fair and equitable basis.

"Management of State enterprise will, as a rule, be through the medium of public corporations under the statutory control of the Central Government, who will

assume such powers as may be necessary to ensure this.

"The Government of India have recently promulgated a measure for the control by the State of the generation and distribution of electric power. This industry will continue to be regulated in terms of this measure.

"The rest of the industrial field will normally be open to private enterprise, individual as well as co-operative. The State will also progressively participate in this field; nor will it hesitate to intervene whenever the progress of an industry under private enterprise is unsatisfactory. The Central Government have already embarked on enterprises like large river-valley developments, which are multi-purpose projects of great magnitude, involving extensive generation of hydro-electric power and irrigation on a vast scale, and are calculated in a comparatively short time to change the entire face of large areas in this country.

"Projects like the Damodar Valley Scheme, the Kosi Reservoir, the Hirakund Dam, etc., are in a class by themselves and can stand in comparison with any of the major schemes in America or elsewhere. The Central Government have also undertaken the production of fertilizer on a very large scale, and have in view other enterprises like the manufacture of essential drugs, and of synthetic oil from coal; many Provincial and State Governments are also proceeding on similar lines.

"There are certain basic industries of importance, apart from those mentioned in paragraph 4, the planning and regulation of which by the Central Government is necessary in the national interest. The following industries whose location must be governed by economic factors of All-India import, or which require considerable investment or a high degree of technical skill, will be subject to Central regulation and control: 1. Salt; 2. Automobiles and Tractors; 3. Prime Movers; 4. Electric Engineering; 5. Other Heavy Machinery; 6. Machine Tools; 7. Heavy Chemicals, Fertilizers and Pharmaceuticals and Drugs; 8. Electro-Chemicals Industries; 9. Non-Ferrous Metals; 10. Rubber Manufactures; 11. Power and Industrial Alcohol; 12. Cotton and Woollen Textiles; 13. Cement; 14. Sugar; 15. Paper and Newsprint; 16. Air and Sea Transport; 17. Minerals and 18. Industries related to Defence.

"The above list cannot obviously be of an exhaustive nature. The Government of India, while retaining the ultimate direction over this field of industry, will consult the Governments of the Provinces and States at stages and fully associate them in the formulation and execution of plans. Besides these Governments, representatives of industry and labour will also be associated with the Central Government in the Industrial Advisory Council and other bodies which they proposed to establish, as recommended by the Industries Conference.

"The resolution of the industries conference has

recommended that Government should establish a Cottage Industries Board for the fostering of small-scale industries. The Government of India accept this recommendation and propose to create suitable machinery to implement it. A cottage- and small-scale industries directorate will also be set up within the Directorate General of Industries and Supplies.

"One of the main objectives will be to give a distinctly co-operative bias to this field of industry.

"During and before the last war, even a predominantly agricultural country like China showed what could be done in this respect, and her mobile industrial co-operative units were of outstanding assistance in her struggle against Japan.

"The present international situation is likely to lessen to a marked degree our chances of getting capital goods for large-scale industry, and the leeway must be made up by having recourse to small-size industrial co-operatives throughout the country.

"(9) The Government, however, recognise that their objective, *viz.*, securing the maximum increase in production, will not be realised merely by prescribing the respective spheres of State and private enterprising industry. It is equally essential to ensure the fullest co-operation between labour and management and the maintenance of stable and friendly relations between them.

"A resolution on this subject was unanimously passed by the industries conference which was held in December last. Amongst other things, the resolution states:

"... The system of remuneration to capital as well as labour must be so devised that while in the interests of the consumers and the primary producers, excessive profits should be prevented by suitable methods of taxation and otherwise, both will share the product of their industry and reasonable reserves will be allowed for the maintenance and expansion of the undertaking."

Pandit Nehru, speaking on the resolution, said that one had to be very careful that in taking any step, the existing structure was not injured too much. In the state of affairs in the world and in India today, the Prime Minister said, any attempt to have a "clean slate," that is a sweep away of all that they had got, would certainly not bring progress nearer but might delay it tremendously. He had no doubt in his mind that the existing structure had to be changed as rapidly as possible but priorities had to be laid down in view of the country's limited resources and those priorities must be laid down in terms of new things as far as possible unless the old things came in the way. He emphasised the need for thinking in terms of the vast changes in production methods that might come about which would render the industrial apparatus completely obsolete. If they spent vast sums of money on acquiring this or that, they would be acquiring things which were 90 per cent obsolete today.

Referring to Sir J. P. Srivastava's remarks Pandit

Nehru said, "The fact of the matter is that his lament of the burdens that are put on industry, taxation and this and that is based on a certain view of the world which, I fear, cannot possibly come back. I am not thinking in idealistic or any terms but practical terms when I say that you cannot have it back. There are going to be greater burdens on industry because the State itself is burdened so much with its social problems. It has to solve them or cease to be a social State, and if it becomes just a police State, then too, it ceases to be and some other State takes its place. It has to face those problems and if it has to do this it must necessarily have the wherewithal to face those problems and the burden on industry and the like becomes greater and greater. In fact, not because you think or I think or anybody thinks, inevitably the trend of events is to make the State more and more the organiser of constructive activity, industry, etc., and not the private capitalist or any other person. I do not rule out entirely the profit motive completely. I do not know how long it will last in a smaller sense, but in a larger sense of the term it will come more and more into conflict with the new sense of the social State. That conflict will go on and one must live, and it is clear that the State will survive and not that group which represents in its pure essence the private motive in industry. So, that is an inevitable development. How are we to face that development? Are we going to try to accelerate it as many of us would like to do? Because, quite apart from the economic aspect or the expert aspect, we have arrived at a stage when a sensitive person cannot put up easily today with the vast gap between human beings, the distance and the difference between them, between the lack of opportunity on one side and the waste on the other."

A good deal of uncertainty and conflicting news and views about an impending nationalisation scheme had a great depressing influence on the Stock Markets of India and caused a fall in investments. The present resolution, coupled with the Prime Minister's bold and emphatic statement, should remove all uncertainties from the minds of our industrialists. The industrial policy has been so framed as to give the greatest possible concession to big business. It has put off nationalisation for ten years to come leaving the field open for them to make more profits. It has not uttered a word about the most detestable aspect of our industrial finance, namely, the Managing Agency system. The abolition of this pernicious system of industrial finance, found nowhere else in the world, and which is the greatest source of exploitation and profiteering, would have been a boon to the country and specially so to honest small business. The omission of this vital point from the resolution is a very bad lapse indeed. Decentralisation of industry, its planned dispersal all over the country and freeing it from the clutches of a handful of men at New Delhi lacking in knowledge of local conditions of trade, commerce and industry, was a desideratum. This has not been proposed clearly in the

resolution. Pandit Nehru himself said, "We would have liked the Minister for Industries to indicate what were the industries which he expected the Provincial Governments to take up." There was a strong suggestion throughout the statement that the State would in practice ultimately mean the Central Government. He protested against the increasing tendency towards concentration of all power in the Centre. We all know what the Central Government means. Even a single decision by the Centre on a minor matter takes months and months. The Central Government means today a group of fifteen or twenty people, some very old and tired, who had got innumerable other activities, and it was wrong that the whole economic activity of the country should be concentrated in their hands. There should be the widest possible distribution of initiative, control and management. The best way to achieve this planned decentralisation is to have a National Planning Commission at the head and dispersal of private and State enterprises all over the country within the framework on a plan set up by the Commission with the greatest measure of liberty of action granted to the units.

Regarding the exclusive monopolies of the State, there should have been some scope for the manufacture of sporting guns and rifles, etc., with the necessary ammunition by private enterprise, as otherwise the State would have to maintain a very large cadre of highly skilled men in peace time. It is also notorious that State-control means total stagnation of research, therefore, private enterprise should be allowed to participate under rigid control of research and production in other industries vital for the defence of the State. As for Cottage industries, there should be an well-knit scheme for standardisation of quality and marketing on a wide scale. Otherwise such minor enterprises cannot stand the shock of industrial upsets, to say nothing of competition from big business.

Nationalisation of Reserve Bank

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has adopted a resolution expressing its opinion that "It is not in the interests of the country to nationalise banking as recommended by the A.-I. C. C. Economic Programme Committee" and that the Reserve Bank of India should not be nationalised. The resolution reads :

"The Federation is definitely of the opinion that it is not in the interest of the country to nationalise banking as recommended by the Economic Programme Committee. Moreover, it is also opposed to bringing all resources available for investment under the control and direction of the State, as it would strike at the very foundation of the working of private enterprise in this country. The Federation, however, welcomes the recent statement of the Prime Minister that the Government have no intention of nationalising commercial banks.

"As regards the Reserve Bank of India, the Federation is definitely of the opinion that it should not be nationalised. Apart from the present pre-occupation of the Government with pressing problems and the dearth of sufficient personnel of requisite qualifications for places of control and management, which would make the nationalisation of that bank extremely unwise, the Federation considers it essential that those who dictate the policy of the Reserve Bank must bring an independent approach and judgment in the management of the affairs of the Bank. Such an independent approach and judgment are specially called for, particularly as the Bank has to deal very largely with the finance of the Government of India.

"The Federation would, therefore, most strongly urge the Government of India to reconsider their decision as regards the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank and not proceed with any scheme that they may have involved in connection therewith."

From the trend of discussions in the meeting of the Federation, it appears that big business is deadily opposed to the scheme for nationalising the Reserve Bank. It transpired that Reserve Bank Board was sharply at variance with the Government over this issue. Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand, moving the resolution, said that it was the duty of the Government to ascertain the views of experienced persons and organisations but it would appear that even the views of the Reserve Bank had not been taken into consideration and declared, "I find that the Board seems to have advised the Government against the proposal." Another gentleman characterised the proposal for nationalisation of banking as "an ideological proposition" which was "nothing short of Communism" and was "a trespass on personal liberty and freedom." Fulminations apart, we are unable to agree with any of the points enumerated in the body of the resolution as arguments against the scheme for the nationalisation of Reserve Bank. We believe that if there ever was any case for nationalisation of any institution in India at the present moment, it is the Reserve Bank. The import and export policy of India need a complete reorientation and the policy of the country should be directed towards conserving India's foreign exchange resources. The present dissipation of our valuable foreign exchange resources should forthwith be stopped but there is little sign that it will be done in the near future. The foreign exchange policy of Reserve Bank controlled by big business in the name of shareholders is open to strong criticism, as it has not played fair with the country. The import policy and foreign exchange policy should both now be fixed and regulated by the State and to facilitate that, the Reserve Bank must be nationalised. Big business must understand that playing King Canute is an extremely dangerous occupation today. It has the choice today of gracefully surrendering to the will of the people. Tomorrow there may have to be abject surrender on harsh terms.

Employees Insurance in India

The Indian Parliament has passed the Employees' State Insurance Bill which provides for certain benefits to employees in cases of sickness, maternity and employment injury. This Bill is a long step forward on the way of ensuring social security to the working class. Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister of India, told the Parliament that the Government were now engaged in working out the details of a programme to provide a million workers' houses of approved design. The Bill is only a beginning of social security measures. Its scope, as now formulated, is limited but the benefits might be expanded and extended to any degree in order to cover the various categories of the working classes in this country.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that the constitutional position was such that they had mostly to depend upon the Provincial Governments for the implementations of the measures passed by the House. He assured that the Central Government did take utmost care to see that there was uniformity in the provinces and that the provincial governments made honest efforts to give effect to the various measures adopted by the House. Uniformity in the security measures and also in wages, allowances and concessions in all the provinces is absolutely essential for maintaining the stability of the industrial structure. It is good that the Labour Department of the Central Government have kept this vital point in view. It would have been better if, instead of depending on the "honest efforts" of the provincial governments, an element of compulsion had been introduced in order to maintain a uniformity of policy and practice throughout the country in such an important matter.

The provisions of the Bill applies to the organized workers in industries and plantations who will be its beneficiaries. It is high time that the case of unorganised agricultural labour had been taken up. Their conditions of work and the way in which they are widely scattered all over the country do not permit them to come under organised and closely knit associations and for want of such organisations they have so long suffered. Mr. Jagjivan Ram has assured the Indian Parliament that the needs of the agricultural population were constantly before the Government.

The pressing needs of our industrial, plantation and mining labour in the matters of wages, allowances and extra benefits have during the past few months been largely assured and necessary legislations have been made to secure them ample social justice. It is now time that they had been encouraged to play their part in right spirit and help in increasing production for the benefit of the society. We believe that spread of education among the working class should be the foremost programme now in the hands of our Labour Department. Education alone can infuse a sense of responsibility in their minds and to make them conscious of their duty to the society that has, at the first opportunity removed all their legitimate grievances

and have cheerfully borne all the extra expenses for doing so. We have an apprehension about the fixation of minimum wages for certain industries. This has been done at a time of inflated prices and high cost of living. The present prices are bound to come down in a couple of years, if there is no war. Foreign competition will have to be faced in every sphere of our industrial activity. The agricultural prices have already registered an indication towards fall. With the purchasing power of our masses reduced due to a fall in agricultural prices together with a continuous import of cheaper foreign industrial goods may create an unenviable condition for our industries. The goose that lays the golden egg ought to be kept alive. Fixation of a minimum wage at a high level may prove greatly embarrassing for the Government itself in foreseeable future and it may prove injurious in the long run to the interest of the workers themselves. It is much better that they begin to think in terms of the whole society instead of considering themselves as a block completely separate and isolated from the other occupation groups as they have so long been taught to do by the misleaders of labour.

The Delhi Secretariat

We have heard how after a short spell of funk, Indian officialdom has got over its fear of the unknown, represented by the Congress and its declared objectives of equity and equality in all relations of life. They have reverted to their habitual life of files, of confusing their superiors—at present Ministers—with the multitude of counsels that these files abound in, of continuously adding to their own on the pretext of taking up some newly advertised campaign for public weal. What they were during the British regime we do not propose to recall today; for, we want to forget that as a bad dream. But, by and large they have been proving to be an “unfortunate legacy” (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru’s words). During the last session of the Central Legislature, just prorogued, there was criticism of the way in which the “Imperial” Secretariat have been handling affairs, they do not appear to feel that there has been really any change on and since August 15, 1947. One of the critics, Shri Mohan Lal Saksena, member of the Constituent Assembly from the United Provinces, has returned to the charge in the columns of the *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi. From this article our readers can have some idea of the vast reproductive capacity of this organ of Indian Administration. We propose to share with our readers this information from this article :

The Secretariat is as over-crowded as before. Let me cite the number of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, to drive home the immediate necessity for reorganising the Secretariat right from the top. In the year 1924-25, we had only nine Secretaries of Departments; in 1938-39,

we had ten Secretaries; and in 1948-49 we are to have twenty-two Secretaries. In 1924-25, we had no Additional Secretary; in 1938-39, we had three Additional Secretaries and in 1948-49, we are to have five Additional Secretaries, so that we have in all 27 Secretaries and Additional Secretaries, working in the seventeen Ministries. As for Joint Secretaries there were seven in 1924-25 and ten in 1938-39. In 1948-49 we are to have thirty-seven. Then as regards Deputy Secretaries, in 1924-25 we had fifteen. In 1938-39 we had nineteen and now we have eighty-eight. Again, in regard to Under-Secretaries in 1924-25, there were four. In 1938-39, there were seventeen and now in 1948-49, we have seventy-three. Again, as regards Assistant Secretaries in 1938-39, there were twenty-one and now we have 127.

And this brood costs quite a pretty penny. The Secretaries, the highest in the official rung, draw Rs. 4,000 a month, although the Pay Commission had recommended that none of them should have more than Rs. 3,000 a month. The writer contrasts this with Secretariat salaries in Burma and Pakistan where in response to appeals by Prime Ministers, they have agreed to accept “a reduction in salary.” He reports a talk with the Deputy Prime Minister which is revealing. Sardar Patel said that he had been working with “one-third the number of I.C.S. officers.” When he was asked: “Why . . . are they everywhere?” Sardarji is reported to have said: “What can I do? Everybody is demanding I.C.S. officers with ten years’ experience, and all that.” This is a defeatist attitude that does not sit well on the “Iron Man” of the Congress. If August 15 did really make a “new departure” in our life, we should be able to train up men and women to adequately meet the new occasions and discharge the new duties. Why should we be found clinging to the remnants of the old system with its inflated price?

Abuse of Authority

“I hope to demonstrate that real *Swaraj* will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused”—thus wrote the Architect of India’s Freedom in 1925. Since then for two and twenty years he gave himself no rest so that his people, the average Indian, can grow this capacity in himself to resist authority when abused. Today, the Indian constitution in action will be tested on the success it attains in calling up out of his being this capacity in the Indian. The Ministers of the Indian Union, the high officers of the Government, the Magistracy and the police are all required to co-operate in this education in citizenship. Have they been doing it? Are they more circumspect in using their authority? In railway stations, and booking offices, in steamer stations, in offices, do we see any sign of improvement, of determination to restrain authority from abuse? Does authority so act that the average Indian can feel that he is the master to whose comfort and convenience

authority ministers? These questions have to be asked to be replied in the negative. Cases still come to light where there does not appear to be any change from the British regime; there are cases of insult to dignity and extortion of money which people suffer in silence with a rankling sense of wrong embittering their thoughts. The *Jugantar*, the Calcutta Bengalee-language daily, drew attention in a recent issue of instances of a long-standing abuse that in the context of our lately won freedom look as an outrage. The story related the exploitation of the people by the "Chaudhuries" who have established a monopoly in the removal of goods from the steamer stations of Calcutta. Outside carters and porters are not allowed to enter the sheds, and the "Chaudhuries" dictate their terms at the point of their insolent combination. The Port Police wink at this daily abuse of monopoly because they have a share of the "loot." It is curious that these "Chaudhuries" very often demonstrate their nationalism by bringing out their carts and drivers to add to the volume of nationalist processions. But they lack the elementary sense that nationalism and exploitation are incompatible. And there appears to be none to teach them a better practice. The first Indian Chairman of the Port Trust should for once raise his eyes from his files, and take a hand in educating on the better way his police and these "Chaudhuries."

The name of this organization—Union of Muslims—in the State of Hyderabad has been dramatized in the Press which has a sneaking fondness for Muslim communalism. Lately the editor of the Calcutta *Statesman* visited the State and related his experiences in his own paper. He appeared to have made it a point to meet the leader of the *Ittehad*, Haji Kasim Rasvi, the man who has burst over the life of the State as the defender of Islam and its traditions. Mr. Ian Stephens appeared to have been impressed by this wild-eyed visionary who, if he is allowed to go in the way he has been doing all this time, will end in staging a pogrom which Pakistanis made us familiar with in Calcutta, in Noakhali, in West Punjab, and in Sind. The Calcutta editor was concerned with the present, and did not care to trace the migration of Haji Kasim Rasvi from Lucknow to Hyderabad, representing a historic continuity of the "Mulk" (Hyderabad) being influenced by persons from outside. The present head of the *Ittehad* carries the tradition that is associated with the Bilgramis, the Moshin-un-Mulks and the Chattaris. He was a lawyer who left the profession and has found in communal politics a better soil for exploitation. And what he has been up to was described by the Prime Minister of India in a speech delivered at Vizagapatam on March 14, last:

The kind of speech and action that has been going on in Hyderabad—it represents, I take it, the spirit of the *Ittehad*. Then all I can say is that the state in Hyderabad is pretty parlous indeed! It is that the ideology of the speech and action lying

behind the things there, I am afraid Hyderabad is going to suffer greatly. Because out of such evil speech and evil action, only evil can result.

As we write the news of the volunteers of the *Ittehad* overflowing into Madras, Bombay and Central Provinces have appeared in the Press, carrying death, destruction and loot in their wake. Nothing better could be expected of this organization which today is the dictator of the policy in the State, the Nizam being more or less the custodian of the seal. We should remember that the *Ittehad*, starting as an Anjuman in 1927 under the leadership of the late Nawab Sardar Yar Jung, Director of the Ecclesiastical Department, has developed into a political instrument of terrorism. A meeting was held under the presidentship of Moulvi Abdul Qadir Siddiqui, Professor of Islamic Theology and Religion in the Osmania University, and the objects of the organization were thus stated:

The Ruler and the throne are the symbols of the political and cultural rights of the Muslim community in the State. This status of the Muslims must continue for ever. It is therefore for this that the maintenance of the prestige and the divine rights of the Ruler must attain first importance whenever a change in the Constitution has to be effected.

All laws, privileges and rights derived by the Muslim community traditionally shall remain as such as they are meant for safeguarding the political rights of the Muslims and also for maintaining their economic and cultural status.

The support of the ruling house to this organization enlisted the co-operation of officialdom to it, and we find on the occasion of the death of Nawab Sardar Yar Jung in 1943, the Nizam issuing "firman" after "firman" calling upon his Muslim subjects to maintain the traditions of the late leader who had a new theory of "Anal Malik"—I am the Owner; the Muslims were made to believe that they were the Ruling Race and the Nizam was but a symbol of their sovereignty. The *Ittehad* was their instrument of rule over-riding the authority of the Nizam. The latest demonstration of this claim was on the occasion of the agreement signed by the Nizam at the instance of the Nawab of Chhatari advised by Sir Walter Monckton. The *Ittehad* demanded its rejection, and the Nawab of Chhatari had to quit. The Nizam panders to the pretensions of this organization because it upholds his dynastic ambitions and his irresponsible authority. And the policy of the *Ittehad*, deducible from its original objects referred to above, has been stabilized in a political testament breathing the narrowest of ambitions.

1. Monarchy must rule over Hyderabad and be sovereign. The Ruler must be a descendant of the Asaf Jahi Dynasty only.

2. If any change in the constitutional governance of Hyderabad becomes inevitable nothing which will prejudice the traditional political superiority of the Muslims should be done.

3. Muslims must be in a majority, both in the Local Self-Government bodies and the Legislature.

4. There should be separate electorate for the Muslims.

5. Urdu must be the official language of the State.

6. The problem of State services being inter-linked both with the political and cultural superiority of the Muslims and their economic interest, division of the same in proportion to the population is out of question.

7. The Ecclesiastical Department should function as before. An organisation of Muslims for the protection of their religion must be recognised.

8. There is a small share for Muslims in Trade, Agriculture and Industries. All facilities must be given to them to increase their shares in these fields.

The narrative given above shows that the last twenty years have brought no change in the spirit of the ruling *junta* of the State of Hyderabad, that in the heart of the Deccan has been planted a social polity that repudiates every principle of modern life. The State has a population of over a crore and sixty lakhs of people of which the *Ittehad's* clientele are hardly more than twenty-five lakhs if we accept the claim that it represents all the Muslims of the State. This element has refused to align itself with the progressive forces in the country. It has become a foreign element that must be ejected. The States Ministry of the Indian Union has been trying to bring it to reason. But during the negotiations in this behalf, the people, the majority, are being subjected to unspeakable terrorism. And the Nizam has become a prisoner of his own policy of dynastic ambitions and communal aggrandisement. The gods appear to have made him and his supporters mad—a prelude to their destruction.

Pakistani Officials Returning

On the 18th of February last a news from Dacca appeared in the Press saying that 150 senior officers opting for service in Pakistan have finally decided to return to their services in the Indian Union on which they had a lien under an agreement arrived at in July last. These senior officers elected for service in the Central Government of Pakistan. The option clause enables them to revert to their old posts if they informed authorities by February 15, 1948, that they desired to exercise their option of service in this behalf. This they must have done, and the Government of the Indian Union are in honour bound to make provision for their service. On the 7th of March last a Delhi news informed the world that about 12,000 men, mostly of the Post, Telegraph and Railway Departments, have exercised their option to serve under their old departments in the Indian Union. These two items of news raise a problem that touched on the loyalty and integrity of citizenship. The impulse that had led these men to elect for service in the new State of Pakistan would have been respected by us if they had been able to stick it out and serve their Pakistan, "the land of the Pure" even at a sacrifice. But they are found to be broken reeds, and to the Indian Union they will be a liability, and a danger. Their loyalty will be suspected, and no

declaration of theirs can persuade the rulers of the Indian Union to relax their watch on their conduct. We do not know why they have revised their choice. So far as we know there is not a superfluity of experienced officials at the disposal of the Pakistan Government, and it is a wonder that they should have allowed these men to leave when their service could hardly be spared. We have heard that Hindu officials in Sind are not allowed to leave the Province. But in the case of Muslim officials, there is exemption from this rigid practice. Why? The Central Government of Pakistan appear to value more the services of potential enemies amongst Hindu officials than that of their own co-religionists. This strange conduct requires a satisfactory explanation. Till then, we should be watchful of "fifth columnists" amongst the Muslim officials who have been returning. The building up of Pakistan requires life-long devotion. Why should Muslim officials be lacking in it? Their betrayal puts them out of court in Pakistan and in the Indian Union also. They are not a breed of humanity of which we can be proud.

Muslim Polity in Indian Union

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the great organisation of Muslim divines, being opposed to the politics of the Muslim League, has suffered for it at the hands of Muslim League gangsters. Its venerable president, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani of Deobund, has been the butt of special persecution. With traditions such as these, the Jamiat has not found it difficult to re-orientate its activities after August 15, 1947, when the partition of India has left over four crores of Muslims in the Indian Union, millions of whom had flirted with the "two-nations" theory and brought strength to Muslim League's elbow. Now, these millions are in a fix; they see now that Pakistan has not solved their problem; rather, from certain points of view, it has made it almost insoluble. At this crisis in their life, the Jamiat has given them a lead which may offer a way out of their difficulty. At a meeting of the Council of the Jamiat held at Delhi on the 20th of March last, resolutions were passed putting a stop to its political activities and laying a new platform for it. The resolution on the second point ran as follows:

This meeting of the Council is of the opinion that the future sphere of the Jamiat should be confined only to the religious, cultural, economic and educational interests of Muslims of the Indian Union and in order to voice their political rights and interests they should be invited to join non-communal organisations.

The success of the resolution depends on the way in which the religious, cultural and educational ideals are interpreted to Muslims. The Muslim League also had spoken of religion and culture creating special needs for the Muslims of India, which required "separate" consideration apart from those of their neighbours of other communities. It is up to the Jamiat, representing the thought-leaders among Indian

Muslims, to sterilize this spirit of separation. How they will do this, it is for them to find out in response to conditions in India where many races and cultures have sought and found asylum. It was this mingling of races and cultures that enabled Rabindranath Tagore to hail India as "the shore of humanity."

Congress-Akali Dal Merger

There appears to be general satisfaction that in the Legislative Assemblies, Central and East Punjab, the Akali Dal Sikh representatives have agreed to abide by the principles and policies, advocated and followed by the Indian National Congress. But this satisfaction will be diluted when we come to know that the leadership of the Akali Dal, Master Tara Singh, for instance, is sceptical of any good coming out of the present arrangement. He and his group have agreed to it as a trial of what, we do not know! Is it of Congress competence to implement all the terms and conditions of this pact, the details of which we do not know? From the trend of discussion we are led to form the opinion that it will be as successful or unsuccessful as the Lucknow Pact of 1916 which was hailed as the charter of Hindu-Muslim unity. We have since then been witnesses of bitter disappointment with Pacts and such other opportunist patch-works. Sikh feeling, the feeling of a section of it at least, does not appear to be enthusiastic. Perhaps, it expects too much from the Congress, the Sikhs to be always sitting on the fence. This feeling found expression through the *Delhi Liberator*, dated March 31 last. Our readers will easily realize that there is hardly any occasion for the ringing joy-bells:

Though the Akali legislators have joined the Congress unconditionally, the Sikh problem has not yet been resolved. Rather its magnitude has increased many times. Those who are opposed to this merger will create—and they are many men of great integrity and influence—very difficult situation for us if we fail to satisfy them through the Congress. And the prestige of the Congress will receive a set-back thereby as it has never done before.

Militarization of West Bengal

During the British regime, military spirit had been all but killed amongst the Bengalee people. If the encouragement and support of the State be denied to the people in this respect, frustration and demoralization would ensue as is illustrated in the recent history of India. This total denial has been a sore point with us, thus to be transformed into a "non-martial" race. Today we desire to retrieve this position. And since August 15, 1947, we have been strongly pressing for the imperative need of making a new departure in the thoughts and activities of the Bengalee people. It is, therefore, that we welcome the recent plan of the West Bengal Government intended to train up every year 20 villagers from each of the 330 villages lying on the border of this province and East Bengal. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, elaborated this scheme in course of his

weekly Press Conference on March 6 last. He also announced on the occasion their proposal for raising a National Volunteer Corps recruited from schools and colleges; at present 500 boys and young men will be put under training. This corps will be formed on the lines of the National Cadet Corps sponsored by the Central Government.

Since then we have seen an announcement in the Press that the West Bengal Government proposed to start three Naval Schools in the Province. In this regard the authorities will have to start right from scratch. The West Bengal Government is, thus, called upon to revive the traditions of naval life associated with the names "Srimanta Sadagar" and "Chand Sadagar."

The West Bengal Government may find it easier to start naval schools, not three but any number of them. But their real difficulty will come when they will have to hunt for ratings. They must recruit from schools and colleges young men who aspired for officers' grades in the navy. But from where will come the *Lascars*? Bengalee boat-men have almost vanished from the surface of West Bengal rivers, such of them as have not silted up. Only in the Sunderbun area in the metropolitan district of 24 Parganas are to be found men who take to the salt waters as ducks. But, will they be tempted out of their habitual life, to submit themselves to the discipline of naval life? Another likely field of recruitment is to be found in the fishermen class, men who defy storm and rain to eke out a miserable pittance. We do not know whose has been the brain wave about these naval schools. Did the Secretariat, the ears and eyes of the Ministers, go into these difficulties before they put into Ministerial mouth the news about this particular scheme?

The last but not the least in modern warfare is the air force. Have the Brain Trust of the Bengal Government any scheme that will make the people "air-minded"? It may be that at moments of crisis the Indian Air Force will be there to fall back upon. But has West Bengal no contribution to make to create the requisite atmosphere where youth can be inspired to accept the challenge of the air? We have known that during World War II of the 20th Century Bengalee youth made good in the Air Force and established a record in India. Their example should be an inspiration to the rising generation in Bengal. The Government of West Bengal should initiate measures that will enable the Bengalee youth to get the requisite knowledge and training in body and mind for the use of the new weapon that science has placed in their hands to defend the integrity of their country and attack its enemies. A special responsibility devolves on them; they have to revive the Kshatriya spirit that the British killed in their people; they have to transform quill-drivers into military men, into commanders of army, of navy and air force. There is nothing esoteric in the matter.

Netaji has exploded all hallucination created by enemies of India's freedom about certain characteristics that military life requires, and which Bengalees lacked. The Rani of Jhansi Regiment have demonstrated that even women, daughters of Bengal, can play a significant part in the setting up of a State, in organizing fighting forces under modern conditions of scientific warfare. One of the tests by which we will judge Ministries in West Bengal is the way they go about militarizing the people, in preparing them for the hazards of war, in confirming in their people's character the virtues of *do, dare and die*, of creating the spirit that would be prepared to sacrifice life and limb for the defence of the temples of their gods, for their honour and dignity.

Since writing the above, we have had a very important announcement made by the Defence Minister on the 8th instant in the Central Legislature intimating the decision of the Ministry to immediately take in hand the formation of Territorial forces, the first contingent to be of the strength of one lakh thirty thousand. These forces will constitute what has come to be known as the "second line of defence" of a country, and in an emergency these will take the place of the regular defence forces. We desire heartily to congratulate the Ministry on this measure. These Territorial Units is to be organized on a regional basis; for the purpose in view the country is proposed to be divided into 8 Regions :

- (1) East Punjab, the East Punjab States, Rajputana with Delhi ;
- (2) The United Provinces ;
- (3) Central Provinces and East India States ;
- (4) Bombay Presidency and Kathiawar ;
- (5) Madras Presidency, Mysore and Travancore ;
- (6) Bihar and Orissa ;
- (7) West Bengal and Cooch Bihar ;
- (8) Assam, and the States of Tripura and Manipur.

In this new set-up, areas whose people had by British dispensation been reduced to the indignity of "non-martial" classes, will have an opportunity to retrieve their position and prove their mettle. It is a strange commentary on the situation that in the Kashmir campaign, Bengal is found represented by "officers" only, other ranks being conspicuous by their absence. Members of the Central Legislature visiting Kashmir have marked this incongruity, and urged the immediate formation of a "Bengalee Regiment." Sardar Baldev Singh's announcement should enable the West Bengal Ministry to go ahead with it.

Pandit Nehru's Dictum

We revert to this subject of linguistic provinces and propose doing so month after month till the Central Government of India in its collective wisdom decides to honour the pledge that the Indian National Congress gave to the people on the necessity and justice of this step. By reconstituting the administrative provinces of the country on this principle of

linguistic affinity, the Congress could have put its seal of sanction on the solution of a problem that the British Administration had lacked the urge to settle, for as long a time as it is possible for human wisdom to see. It tinkered with the subject. In deciding to take out Oriya-speaking areas from Bihar and Sindhi-speaking areas from the Bombay Presidency, the State responded to popular feeling ; and Orissa and Sind are better places today for the indigenous people, though we do not forget that Muslim League frenzy has created conditions of hell for the autochthonous minority community in Sind. Why it did not do the same thing in the case of the Telugu-speaking areas in the Presidency of Madras, we have not been told. We believe that concern for the susceptibilities and the interests of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, had something to do in the matter. Almost half the people of this State are Telugu-speaking, and it was a natural surmise that if an Andhra State be formed inside the Union of India, it will be difficult for these people to resist its full from across the border. But this is a special case, and we do not think that the Nehru Government has any such softness or weakness in deciding its course of duty in this matter. The case for a Karnataka Province, for the greater Maharashtra, for extending the boundaries of Bengal in the West is irrefutable, and the decision of the Nehru Government to recommend the constitution of the Andhra Province has made it irresistible.

We are, therefore, not satisfied with the reply which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent to the Memorandum of the New Bengal Association pressing for the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar and Orissa into the new Province of West Bengal forming a unit of the Indian Union. He is reported to have said that "the present time is quite inopportune for considering the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa." The reason behind this dictum is unexplained ; we are not told when the time will become opportune. Evidently the Prime Minister of the Indian Union is not conversant with the history of this claim ; and he appears to have been unable to apply his mind to its implications brought out in the memorandum prepared by the New Bengal Association and submitted to him of its behalf. We do refer to what the Hardinge Government said in its Despatch of August 15, 1915 about "a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all concerned." We will call Panditjee's attention to the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its session of 1911 ; it was moved by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Mr. Parameswarlal, Bihar leader. It pressed that "in readjusting the provincial boundaries (consequent on the modification of the Partition of Bengal) the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengalee-speaking district under one and the same administration." What was of more significance was the statement issued in the name of leaders of public opinion in India in the newly

formed province of Bihar in January, 1912, laying down with a certain amount of precision the boundaries of the areas that should go to Bengal. If we mistake not, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha was one of the signatories to the statement, he is still happily with us, and he should be able to explain to the world the many factors that influenced him and his co-signatories to make the statement. If Pandit Nehru had before him this statement he could not have made reference by implication that Bengalees had overflowed into these areas in Bihar. They are autochthonous to the areas concerned, racy of the soil.

There may be various reasons for cultivating a procrastinating attitude towards the re-distribution of provincial boundaries, and the re-constitution of new provinces in India. But this policy will heap up more difficulties when Panditjee or any of his successors will wake up to the necessity of responding to feelings intensely felt and long kept unsatisfied by lack of imaginative statesmanship with which the present Prime Minister of India is richly endowed. We know that provincial bickerings are in the ascendant today. But it is not wisdom to bow to these, to accept defeat at their hands. It is the path of wisdom to anticipate such an unhappy state of things, to do the right thing when you realize that it is right. Panditjee has rediscovered the grandeur and glory that was India. He will have found wisdom in the Ramayana episode wherein Shri Ram Chandra approached the wounded Ravana on his death-bed to learn something of statecraft from the Rakshasha Chief. The one lesson that the latter stressed over and over again was that one, a king also, should not delay doing the right thing as soon as he realized that this was the right thing to do. He narrated to Shri Ram Chandra his disappointment within himself. He had decided to build a golden bridge from earth to heaven, but sat upon it and postponed it from day to day; on his death-bed he realized this folly. On the other hand, the capture of Seeta Devi, an act evil in itself, so blinded his intelligence that he forgot everything else. The result was the destruction of Golden Lanka, the destruction of his one lakh sons and one lakh and twenty-five thousand grandsons. The story of this wisdom from India's historic past has lost none of its value today. If the Government in 1912 had acted upon the lines indicated in the Bihar leaders' statement of January, 1912, Babu Rajendra Prasad would not have driven to give the evil advice to the enthusiasts of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of the Indian Union would have been spared the unpleasant duty of putting off a right thing because it might stir up discontent in the higher ranks of the Congress. We, therefore, repeat that we cannot accept the validity of Panditjee's dictum that linguistic provinces are an untimely problem raised by disgruntled people. The Andhra, the Karnataka, the Maharashtra and Bengalee people have been waiting for over thirty years. And they are in no mood to

postpone the fulfilment of their hopes and pass days in agitation that are more than ever necessary for re-constructing the life of India on the pattern of Gandhiji's hopes. Panditjee would be wise to read the signs of the time.

Deadlock in Indonesia

Indonesia is not in the news. But since the signature in January last of the "Cease Fire" agreement between the Indonesian Republican army and the Dutch invading forces, things have been happening that may flare up into a conflagration in the not distant future. It is well-known that the capitalist interests of Holland, Britain and the United States are linked up, and their investments in the 2,000 islands that make up Indonesia reach gigantic amounts. The Dutch had invested about 325 crores of rupees; the British had about 150 crores; and the U.S.A. capitalists a little less than this amount. Rubber, sugar and oil make up the wealth of the islands, and there has been a stampede of world capitalism, French, German, Belgian, Japanese and Chinese also, to make profit out of the cheap labour of the Indonesian people. But the dictators of policy appear to be the United States and Britain. Owen Lattimore in his book, *Solution in Asia*, published in 1945, thus indicated the lie of the land:

The Dutch Empire need not be treated separately, because it is essentially a satellite empire. It could not exist without the British Empire, and developments within it after the war will move parallel to the movements within the British Empire whether the movement be toward emancipation or toward an attempted stabilization of the institution of empire.

The British imperialism that we have known has retired from Burma and India. Not so the Dutch; it has been attempting a come-back by helping to set up innumerable puppet republics in the various islands in order to break up the united front of the Indonesian Republic. In Owen Lattimore's book a key to this situation can be found. He suggested that "the Dutch had been allowed to make a rather clever job of this affair. They have had not only British capital to support their regime, but powerful financial and industrial groups in the United States have been tempted to invest in the islands' natural resources, and these working through the Dutch have been maintaining a nominal Dutch colonial policy which is actually in large part the foreign policy of exported American and British capital." The Provisional Federal Government formed by Dr. Van Mook, Lt.-Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, on March 9 last, without the co-operation of the Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic, Dr. Hatta, exposes the Dutch game. The United Nations Organisation does not appear to be interested in this area. And the Dutch have been taking advantage of this indifference. Some interested power, India specially, may bring up the matter before this international forum.

Dress-Rehearsal of Third World War

The dress-rehearsal of the third World War of the twentieth century is being held at Berlin. Russian tanks have appeared in the city's streets and avenues; United States troops have besieged the Russian-controlled railway headquarters; and British and U. S. airplanes have been carrying food to their portions of the beleaguered city. The Press of the Western world have begun to feature this development with captions such as "The Battle for Berlin." The last two weeks of March were disturbed by this news, and though we are being told that things have eased a little in Berlin, the tension between the two groups of powers represented on the one side by the Soviet Union and on the other by the United States persists. An uneasy peace is the most to which the world can look forward to. And leaders of thought, rulers of States, organisers of armies and moulders of opinion have been giving expression to opinions that are more than academic. From a New York despatch, dated March 15, we sample a few of these, giving our readers an idea of the tension to which "increasing numbers of shuddering Americans" are being subjected. F. S. C. Northrop, Law Professor of Yale University and a "prominent philosopher" opined: "There is danger of war within the next few days since Russia hopes to grab the world before November 1." The former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the U. S. A. Mr. Marshall's predecessor, James Brynes, declared: "The U. S. A. may have to meet an international crisis four or five weeks from now." The Defence Secretary of the United States, James Forrestal, cried: "I am worried and sick at the imminent threat of war." The New York *World Telegram* set date-line for the outburst: "Since 1946, all planning has been on a long-range basis, assuming that war was ten or fifteen years off. Now, the military is thinking in terms of immediate mobilization. April 18, the date of the Italian elections, presents a possible 'D-Day' to them." General Claire Chennault, former Commander of the small air-force, organized under non-official auspices to help China fight Japan, known as the "Tiger" Force, and now head of the Chinese Government's Freight Air Line, drew attention to the Asian front in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee: "Siberia, east of Lake Baikal, could be isolated from the remainder of Russia by air attacks launched from Chinese air fields. . . . Bombers operating from . . . West China are within a much closer range of Russia's industrial areas than bombers based in the United States." Walter Lippman, the famous foreign policy expert, said: "Cold war has ended. The military phase has begun." A responsible Washington radio commentator, Robert Allen, appeared to be more positively prophetic. "It could be war in a matter of weeks, or another year or two of armed, disturbed peace. For, it is now definitely clear here in Washington that it will mean shooting if Russia makes another move, no

matter whether with military or political means, whether in Italy, Austria or Iran." It is well-known, however, that there are elements in the U. S. A., which refuse to succumb to this war excitement. Henry Wallace, Vice-President, under President Roosevelt in 1942, heads this group. Mr. Marshall, at present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is regarded as a "moderate" in the Truman Administration, but he is being "overshadowed by the Defence Council." The Republic Party, true to its traditions of "isolationism", appears to be wobbling at present. Mr. Robert Taft, "Rightist Republican candidate," appears to be sceptical of Russia's war-like intentions. He did not believe that "Russia is planning any military moves. Russia is only consolidating the positions we gave her at Yalta Conference. If Communists win in the Italian elections, what can we do? It would not be a Russian military move." From this multitude of interpretations, the man and woman of America do not appear to have had a clear lead. He or she is represented as feeling—War! "probably no, possibly yes! and real peace is remoter than ever; should not be surprised at anything specially during the President-election year when competition for votes replaces real statesmanship." From this sampling of opinions, feelings, prejudices and ambitions, we can only deduce that "shooting" may start not from any deliberate choice, but almost by accident, by the momentary failure of reason on the part of any ruler or rulers of States.

"Harijan" Re-appears

This English-language weekly and its Indian-language editions, re-appeared on the 4th April, 1948, after a closure of about seven weeks. Shri K. G. Mashruwala has accepted the responsibility of editing the paper. The new editor in his first article entitled "With Trust in God" took occasion almost in the opening lines to say that if the English edition was at all to be re-started, "Pyarelalji (whose name had been appearing as editor of this weekly even when Gandhiji was filling the major part of the paper) should have continued to edit it." But, as Pyarelalji is at his post of duty in Noakhali since November, 1946, as the centre of activity symbolizing Hindu-Muslim unity, he cannot leave it but must continue the unfinished work of Gandhiji. So, Mashruwalaji with many doubts takes up the burden of the song of Gandhiji's "unique message of truth, love and non-violence," to quote Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's words in the front-page article in this issue. A special responsibility devolves on the Indian public to enable this "message" to go round the world, tossed on war's frenzy. The new editor indicates this responsibility and duty when he says: "It will go on only if the subscribers maintain it; for, it cannot be carried on if it is not self-supporting. Advertisements are out of the question."

The present issue is valuable for another fact. It

contains the report of the decisions of the Constructive Workers' Conference held at Wardha on the 13th-15th March last. It appears over the signature of Babu Rajendra Prasad. The report discussed the reasons that influenced the leading members of the Gandhi fraternity present on the occasion to take infinite pains so that they may "not degenerate into a *sampradaya* or a sect." The choice of the name—*Sarvodaya Samaj*—indicated this determination of theirs; the word *Sangha* was avoided because it implied "some sort of organisational compulsion," while the word *Samaj* correspond to the idea of a *brotherhood* which is the ideal set before the world by Gandhiji. *Sarvodaya* was the name chosen by him to translate the idea preached by Ruskin in his book *Unto the Last*, "A society based on Truth and Non-violence in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed, no opportunity for exploitation, and full scope for development both for individuals as well for groups." Ruskin living in the hey-day of British dominance over world affairs had faint intimations of this ideal. It was reserved for Gandhiji to borrow and better in the borrowing these incipient ideas in the light of India's history and in the crucible of his own struggles for individual self-fulfilment which cannot be reached without justice in human relations. Thus was Gandhiji's *sadhana*, consecrated work, affiliated to the service of the poor and the lowly, and his birth in India drew him into the fight for the self-respect of his people. The *Young India* and *Harijan* were instruments of his campaigns in this behalf.

Problems of Administration

Problems of administration in Free India seem to be colossal. There is no doubt that the task of rebuilding the administrative services will prove to be a steeply uphill one. The administrative machinery that has been handed down to us by the departing British Government had been designed for maintaining the grip of a foreign power in this country and was thoroughly turned to that effect. During the past sixty years of Indian struggle for freedom, this machinery had been perfected as an engine of repression. It spent all its energies in combating nationalism and devising ways and means to suppress every expression of self-help and the rights of the people. The Indian members of the Imperial Services aligned themselves with the British bureaucracy in checking nationalism and aided the Briton in his antinational campaign. Some of the Indians out-Heroded Herod and proved themselves more royal than the King. The inevitable result has been that during the past half a century hardly one single individual Indian could claim to have made any improvement in the administrative machinery so as to give it the character of an agency of service to the people. Some wrote essays of a school-boy type on economic and agrarian problems. The Indians in the Imperial police and their subordinates with plenty of secret service money to spend without audit and fat special allowances, excelled in the Special Branches set up for stamping out nationalism. They had the one object of hunting down who showed any trait of leadership

or betrayed symptoms of patriotism. None of them contributed anything to make improvements in the methods of prevention and detection of crimes from which the social organism suffered and still suffers so acutely.

The formation of provincial ministries on a communal basis since the Mont-Ford Reforms, and specially during the decade ending August 15, 1947, opened the flood-gates of dishonesty, nepotism and recklessness. Whatever efficiency there was in the services was practically gone. Corruption was rampant, and discipline was smashed up. The British legacy is a totally smashed administrative machinery stewing in the juice of corruption.

Since August 15, at the Centre and in the two ex-League provinces of the Punjab and Bengal which have been divided following partition of India and have borne the severest brunt of it, the administrative machinery have come into the hands of people who gained no opportunity to gather experience in it. The machinery that have come down to them lacks in national ideology, integrity, honesty and efficiency. The result has been that the patriots who have accepted responsibility, feel so helpless in their inability to apply the administrative machinery for the amelioration of the conditions of masses. It is true that thorough overhauling would take time but what is most regretted is that there is yet no sign of making even an honest and serious beginning. So far nothing has been done beyond spending some sweet words and money on the preparation of some nice looking schemes. It is still more regrettable to find a competition in the presentment of "bills for sacrifices" often unsupported by "vouchers" and receipts for previous payments.

Corruption and inefficiency are the worst features in the services and an attitude of negligence of duty and irresponsibility amounting to sabotage is prevalent. The worst feature of it is that the disease is at the top, the superior officers lack knowledge, capacity, competence, interest and pride in work even after the time to look upon the administrative services as national service has come. The few prosecutions of smaller fries for bribery is no proof of a change in outlook. A complete and total all out campaign against inefficiency and corruption is needed. When Mr. Casey was the Governor of Bengal, an attempt was made to combat corruption in the services. Rai Bahadur Bijay Bihari Mukherji, Retired Director of Land Records and Surveys, an officer of highest integrity and with wide and deep administrative experience, was appointed as a special officer to draw up a scheme for rooting out corruption. Working hard in an honorary capacity, he submitted his Report within a few months of his appointment. Just at his time, the Suhrawardy Ministry came into office. The Report was shelved. But we understand that the Nazimuddin Government of East Pakistan has asked for a copy of this Report evidently with the object of utilising it in their province. Cannot the Central and West Bengal Government utilise this Report and make a serious beginning in rooting out corruption and inefficiency from the administrative services as a first step in its purification? The problem of reducing its top-heaviness and fitting it to national needs may follow next.

DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

By DR. SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, M.A., D.Litt., D.Sc., D.C.L., LL.D.

THE world at large is, at the present moment, divided by two conflicting sets of ideologies, *viz.*, Democracy and Communism, but very few people owing allegiance to each political creed really understand what they stand for. The protagonists of communism profess to be democrats though the democrats repudiate this claim. The question is whether there is any basic common principle between the two sets of political thought, or if there is no meeting ground, how far they are apart, and how far their distance remains in the various countries where the two doctrines are combating for mastery.

Political theorists tell us that the term 'democracy' of today is very different to the democracy of the Victorian Age, when democracy was as much abhorred by the Liberals, Radicals and the Whigs as communism is abhorred by the democrats today. In the mid-Victorian age, democracy was understood to mean 'mobocracy'; something akin to what communism is today. This extreme sense of democracy became modified as time went on, and even the old die-hard Tory began to recognize democracy as the basic principle underlying his political creed. In the last century, political power, centred in the feudal lords, began slowly and imperceptibly to gravitate downwards to the middle class and through them to the lower middle class, but the working classes at large were absolutely excluded from all power, and the radicals of the day could never think of sharing their power with the man-in-the-street. As late as 1866, Mr. Gladstone, in introducing a bill for the enfranchisement of the town worker vehemently refuted the suggestion of Tory and Liberal critics that it was a democratic measure.

In later years, however, as the labourers became more politically conscious and organized, they formed their own unions and through them, demanded a share of Government. The great psychological revolution of 1848 on the continent of Europe has led the way. The French Revolution of 1789 was the pioneer of this later revolution on the continent, and this revolution in its turn awakened the tiller of the soil and the worker in the factory to something outside his own narrow sphere of toil and work, the result being that the conception of democracy has been evolving on the continent of Europe from the bottom. In England, the people of which have always followed their insular policy of 'wait and see', the development of democratic conception has descended from the top of feudalism to the wider circle of

ruling classes who have for a century past retained all real power and it has only gradually and slowly filtered down to the common man. A wide generality of the evolution of democracy has thus been in to opposite and complex directions on the main continent of Europe and in the insular domain of England with the result that while on the continent, the hegemony of the church was destroyed with the fall of the Bastille, in England the nominal head of the State is still Defender of Faith, and to that extent the religious disability of persons standing outside the Anglican Church still continued with the result that the Lord Chancellor of England, Head of the British Judiciary, cannot be a member of the Catholic Church. But this apart, the filtering process has permeated the working classes, who have taken their cue from the continental expansion of democracy, and the conquest of the labour movement in England has resulted in the dethronement of the ruling classes mainly represented in the Conservative Party and their arch-leader Mr. Winston Churchill, who is still struggling for the apotheosis of his narrow conception of democracy by declaring an ethical war upon communism in which the Labour Party have joined hands.

The fact is that the true conception of democracy *versus* communism has not yet dawned upon the publicists and political thinkers of Great Britain to the extent they are realized on the continent of Europe and America. To a political thinker, a clear conception of the two ideals would betray the weaknesses of each system of government. Turning first to the progressive forces so described by the Soviet Union apostles of communism, who proclaim that their ideological structure in Eastern Europe and Russia have brought about the apotheosis of human rights and human progress and with it human happiness, it must be remembered that the Russian Revolution of 1917 proceeded upon the academic conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat or working classes. Karl Marx (1818-1883), the author of *Das Kapital*, was a thinker and not a practical worker. He minimised if not ignored the main considerations of sentient life including man which point to individualism and self-advancement as creative of action, the result being that the doctrine of communism, which denies every man his right to his private property acquired by his own endeavour and labour, comes in conflict with the aetiology of communism. Its history for the last thirty years has

brought to the apex the two conflicting incentives of life, namely, the communist doctrine of denial of all right of private property and its free disposal denounced as Capitalism and the effect of its working on human society.

The Bolshevik started their revolution by eliminating all top classes of intellectual and inherited wealth which they denounced as Bourgeois, but when they had to create an order out of their new cosmos they had to appoint a few people to carry out the doctrine which imbued the millions of communists in Russia. These few owed their allegiance to one man who became the totalitarian dictator of the new doctrine and to this extent, his powers and position were akin to those of the fascist leader of Germany. The totalitarian chief could not manage millions of his countrymen in their far-flung activities and he had to apportion his power to a class of workers who became twentieth-century edition of the feudal lords of the damned order of Capitalism and Bourgeoisism. They professed to work for the people, but their innate instinct of self-love, self-preservation and self-aggrandisement could not and did not die out with the result that they began to amass property and transfer it unobserved by the watchful proletariat, the result being the creation of a ruling class in the Bolshevik regime akin to the ruling classes in America and on the continent of Western Europe. The difference between the two systems was essentially that of direct and indirect acquisition of property and its disposal. The one was open, the other was secret, but the essential difference between the two continued with the result that the Bolshevik doctrine had to be modified and attenuated; the scheme of private property has begun to be recognized though grudgingly but necessarily as was to be expected.

As communism is a new doctrine and is still on the tapis the old policy has to be reconciled with the new and the cardinal difference between democracy and communism though still emphasized and commonly preached are being narrowed down by a process of natural human evolution with the result that the fanatics of the two are denouncing both capitalism and monopolies. Still they are involuntarily and to some extent inconsistently working on the way of modernizing and moderating the excesses of both extreme systems of capitalism and communism. The time will soon come when the two systems would so

blend as to become indistinguishable, except to the theorist who would like Karl Marx remain apart from human psychology and action.

The advent of the Labour Party in England and in some of the Commonwealths, and its reaction throughout the world, is eradicating some of the evils of plutocratic monopolies. Even in a country so advanced as America, a struggle is proceeding between monopolies and popular rights. The words democracy and communism have become pass-words for the general public who neither appreciate nor even understand the true principles of human life when it is brought face to face with the practical realism of human nature. In India, the political apogee of nationalization of private economy has become confused, though if a judicial view be taken of nationalization, it would introduce the evils of the Marxian doctrine of communism.

Servants of the State cannot be expected to work for their wages, when they have means of aggrandising themselves by imperceptible corruption and indolence. There is no spur of self-advancement in proceeding to carry out the national purpose of national good. A short analysis of any of the nationalized and privately owned ventures would clear up the main factor which is a fulcrum of human action.

Human society has always been imperfect and would continue to so remain till we reach the paradise of human perfection. That is a far cry in the present century and though the apostles of nationalization, communism and democracy all concentrate their eye on such an apotheosis they would never reach the ideal goal of human happiness, such happiness as we dream of, but such happiness is impossible in human societies—in which the brain power is so unevenly divided and most of which is so wantonly dissipated.

While there is a venomous tug-of-war proceeding between democracy and communism, the leaders of the two are re-shaping their own constitutions to create new factors for popular *en masse*, the fact being that while the West is fighting for democracy, democracy is still amorphous and re-shaping itself, and the same is equally true of communism. The fact is that neither side is quite sure of the ground upon which it treads.



PRODUCE OR PERISH

BY MAHARAJA SRISCHANDRA NANDY, M.A., of Cossimbazar,

*Ex-Minister, Government of Bengal**

SINCE the termination of the War the problem of food supply has engaged the anxious consideration of thinking people in almost all countries of the world. There is an acute food shortage everywhere, and the main reason for this will no doubt have to be found in the wide-spread destruction, devastation and general unsettlement caused by the War itself. But there are also much more fundamental forces in operation resulting in this general uncertainty and the dislocation of living conditions. As a well-known publicist tells us, the world's population is today 8 per cent larger than it was before the War while the world's total food production is more than 6 per cent below the pre-war level. Coming nearer home, we know that India also had her share in this general dislocation of life caused by the War and all its accompanying evils. We also know that while our population goes on climbing steadily at the rate of 1.2 per cent every year, our food production actually indicates a declining rate, the adverse balance being met by precarious imports from abroad. Available statistics for the last few years tend to show that though imports from abroad had become available to us in quantities exceeding pre-war average figures, the yield of crops in India itself suffered to an unusual extent for two successive years due to adverse seasonal conditions. This will be seen from the following figures :

YIELD OF CEREALS
(All-India figures in lakhs of tons)

Average 5 years ending	Rice	Wheat	Jowar & Bajra	Total Difference (Four cereals) average
1943-44	282	106	112	500
1944-45	301	108	109	518 +18
1945-46	284	92	88	464 -36
1946-47	302	81	85	468 -32

These figures no doubt indicate an exceptional shortage in our food production, and one should not wonder that the organisation for internal procurement of foodgrains experienced a rather unusual strain within recent times. Then again when India looked abroad for the procurement of foodgrains, it was found that the allocation of foodgrains by international bodies have fallen far short of the minimum needed to maintain even a 12 oz. ration throughout the country. Over and above this, these food imports had to be obtained at unreasonably high prices, causing an abnormal strain on the country's limited foreign exchange resources and involving heavy expenditure on food subsidies.

It is true that it is not for the beggar also to play the part of a chooser. But if we recall how India responded generously to the grim needs of the United Nations during the War, and ungrudgingly opened her granaries for their use, we might have reasonably

enough put forward a claim for a much better treatment in this matter of food supplies. However, the essential lesson that comes out of this food-import episode should not be lost on us. For her very existence, India must concentrate with an iron determination on the production of food requirements, all by herself, so that the goal of self-sufficiency is reached as early as possible. There is a smug self-complacency in some quarters that we have after all the food rationing system which would anyhow solve all our problems in this regard. But we shall have to remember that rationing is only a means to an end, an emergency measure to tide over a temporary crisis. Moreover, rationing involves a privation and sacrifice on the part of the individual, which can only be worth-while if forces are set in motion enabling the nation to do away with this self-imposed curtailment of the freedom of choice. Hence the very imposition of a rationing system also implies that the Government must have a well-thought-out long-term plan for speeding up food production and an immediate programme of a production drive.

It is rather distressing to note that in the past, the Government of the country did not take up quite seriously this constructive aspect of food policy. And this lack of seriousness is now reflected in the fact that so far as food production is concerned all the available statistics indicate a much worse position today. The Grow More Food Campaign undertaken by all the Provincial Governments on the initiative of the Government at the Centre proved to be more or less a fiasco.

With the dawn of freedom, our problems have also multiplied. Apart from the fact that there is a tendency in our country for the growth of population to outrun the increase of food supply, there has been a tremendous problem of congestion of population in different localities, due to vast migrations of refugees from Pakistan and other affected areas. Then again, thanks to the Partition of India, a good portion of fertile and well-irrigated tracts of land have passed away from our hands. In Bengal, for example, we know that our position as regards food production has been dangerously affected due to the major paddy-growing areas being made over to Eastern Bengal. In short, as a result of partition there is now the sad legacy of less food but more to be fed. And the problem further multiplies as there is a steady influx of refugees from Eastern Pakistan as also Western Pakistan. The essential point, therefore, is that we must now have a vigorous policy of increased food production, and that this must be planned and geared up in such a manner as to make it adjustable to the consumption requirements of our increasing population, leaving at the same time a comfortable margin for the displaced

* Author of *Rationale of Food Crisis*.

millions seeking refuge in the territories of the Indian Union. It is not sufficient to provide relief to the refugees; nor is it sufficient to provide alone for their rehabilitation and resettlement. The essential test of our competence to handle this colossal problem, so far of course as the economic implications are concerned, is to find a permanent solution of their food problem on a satisfactory basis.

Having due regard to the existing background of the Indian scene, the sentiments expressed by Pandit Nehru in his recent broadcast speech on the production crisis acquires a rather grim significance :

"We talk of freedom, but today that political freedom does not take us far, unless there is economic freedom. Today, we have, in addition, to face tremendous problems of vast migration and large colossal number of refugees. They are not incapable of producing, but circumstances have forced them into this unhappy position. So we have to think of production as an urgent problem even more than what we have otherwise done."

We must realise by now that there is no longer any room for handling the food situation in a complacent or long-winded fashion, usual with the previous Government. It is refreshing to note that some of the Provincial Governments are showing signs of a new responsibility in this regard, and that at least one of them has come forward with a Grow More Food Drive with definite targets and a time-schedule to realise estimated increases in the production of cereals. But the main fact is that we must not repeat the mistakes of the past or make a defective approach to the problem in the absence of reliable data. In Bengal, for example, the root cause of agricultural deterioration was never gone into, or taken into serious account in any programme connected with the Grow More Food Drive. Yet a commonsense view of the situation is that any such scheme is sure to come to grief unless the basic factor of the deterioration of our river systems and the absence of irrigation facilities is duly considered and provided for. In Bengal, even the few earlier canals that were taken up, were not irrigation canals proper, but were undertaken either for navigation purposes or simply to combat famine and thereby provide relief to the famine-stricken people. It may seem strange, but it is true to say that the only canal made for irrigation purposes was in respect of the Damodar, and that even here a faulty approach to the problem of canal rates as also a faulty execution of the canal works robbed this beneficent measure of much of its value.

If, therefore, we are to ensure success for the Grow More Food Drive in Bengal, we must go into the root cause of agricultural deterioration and take up at the same time a matter-of-fact and practical view of the situation. Our immediate task in this respect should be to collect the data of—

1. available cultivable land not under cultivation ;
2. lands not under cultivation but which can be made cultivable ;

3. lands which can not be improved ;
4. lands where there are actual facilities of irrigation ;
5. lands other than food crops grown, but which can be converted into food-crop-growing areas ; and
6. areas specially suitable for intensive cultivation.

Due care must be taken to ensure accurate statistics made afresh by proper experts to avoid the unfortunate consequences of ill-founded statistical data of the production per acre leading to the last Bengal famine and the unpleasant happenings of the recent jute forecast.

To draw up a bold and definite programme for increased production the cultivators of the Province are found faced with an array of difficulties. Apart from usual primitive and outmoded habits of life, they suffer from all kinds of handicaps in respect of suitable irrigation facilities, supply of manures and fertilisers, adequate marketing facilities, etc. In Bengal, large areas produce only one crop and this is due to the conservative habits of the people as also to absence of irrigation facilities and consequent deterioration in soil fertility. Of late, in Bengal, the average rainfall has also deteriorated due to ruthless deforestation specially during the last War and so some means of irrigation other than depending on rainfall have become much more indispensable.

There are various methods of irrigation practice in Bengal, e.g.,

1. artificial irrigation by drawing water from *Beels* and other water sources by improved methods ;
2. well irrigation for a limited area ;
3. tank irrigation from tanks.

Unfortunately, however, all old irrigation wells and tanks in Bengal have deteriorated as they have not been improved in proper time and the Tank Improvement Bill with all its promises lost its efficacy on the people as it was not taken up seriously. The Damodar Canal has, however, all along been helpful in irrigating the areas lying within its ambit to a great extent and its utility has been very much appreciated of late by the public in the years of continued drought. It is, however, refreshing to note that there is now an overwhelming general demand for its extension and an amicable settlement regarding the rate has also been reached between the Government and the public which, I hope, will help the people of other areas to appreciate the manifold benefits of canals. In the Punjab where rainfall is scarce and capricious and people do not depend on it, canal irrigation has been very much successful in the resulting rise of the standard of living of the people and in the indirect returns to the State by fetching a very decent income from irrigation. In the U. P., the portion which adopted canal irrigation has proved eminently successful. I had the special opportunity of studying at first-hand myself the canal systems of Mysore executed on scientific lines where they have proved a great boon to the cultivators for they do not know what is failure of crops. There are other portions of the State where the construction of

permanent canals has proved to be the only safe and reliable system to get a sure production. It is a welcome feature that the Government of West Bengal budgeted this year for 86 lakhs of rupees for several irrigation projects in agricultural areas including re-exavation of irrigation tanks. The multipurpose scheme in respect of the Damodar Valley has already been taken up and I am glad to learn that the first sod in respect of the Mor Scheme has also been cut by the Hon'ble Minister-in-Charge. This would introduce a much-needed agricultural prosperity in an area neglected in the past and one can easily hope that the Darakeswar Project will also be taken up as early as possible so as to complete the picture in this area.

To assist in increased production, the district agricultural farms should rise up to the situation and give the cultivators proper training how to grow more food with minimum cost by improved appliances. And the necessary effort of the Government to start an Agricultural College in West Bengal to secure requisite trained staff for improved agricultural activities at the cost of 2 lakhs of rupees is a move in the right direction. Again, adequate provision must be made for the regular supply of artificial manures and improved fertilisers. The Government measures so far adopted in the form of compost and other varieties to improve the fertility of the soil failed to achieve the desired purpose for its want of popularising the same. It is really unfortunate that for absence of any fertiliser or manures some lands have got to be kept fallow which means less production. So vigorous efforts must be made immediately to supply better manures to improve the yield per acre. With improved production, facilities for marketing will have to be arranged to ensure better returns to the peasants direct and provisions

should be made for the improvement of roads for inter-linking the paddy-growing areas with the market.

Along with the Grow More Food Drive the growing of vegetables should receive equal attention and encouragement and the huge plots of land suitable for such purposes and lying within reasonable distance from the market should be used for growing vegetables. Adequate propaganda work should be made in the direction and if the means of transport be improved vegetable growing may be encouraged in the interior and people will then have a natural inducement for it.

In short, for the increased production of agricultural lands in West Bengal there must be an all-out drive for improving the river system, increasing the number of canals in suitable areas and for small areas improvement of tanks as well. With the availability of cheap electricity in future as a result of the adoption of hydro-electric scheme, tube-well irrigation may be introduced in suitable cases for limited areas. But canal irrigation represented by far the most regular, well-defined and controlled system of irrigation, for besides helping intensive cultivation on suitable areas, canals will not only be able to irrigate during the rainy season but also in winter help growing the winter crop and other suitable crop according to the suitability of the land.

The food problem is one of the most vital problems with us today. The people of West Bengal live in a state of starvation and they are diminishing every day in vitality and potentiality. There is urgent need for them to lead a healthy normal life and unless they have a secure and solid food front to get nursed back to physical fitness they cannot evidently be expected to play the vigorous role of a free citizen in an independent India. Produce or Perish!

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF EAST AND WEST BENGAL

By INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

UNDIVIDED BENGAL

As an undivided unit, Bengal enjoyed the monopoly in supply of raw jute (producing about 92 per cent of India's total supply), contributed about 32 per cent of India's total rice production, 22 per cent of raw cow-hides and 11 per cent of raw goat-skins, 20 per cent each of tea and raw silk, and about 23 per cent of India's raw tobacco. The geographical location of Bengal, its climate and the splendid river system have all combined to make the soil highly fertile and the province is endowed with extensive agricultural resources. The total area under cultivation in united Bengal was over 30 million acres, of which about 2 million acres were irrigated. The per capita cropped area worked out at about 0.67 acre. The forest tracts covered an area of 4.5 million acres and the province had about 4 million acres of cultivable wastes and

about 956,000 acres of current fallows. According to the census of 1941, Bengal was the most populous province of India with a population of about 60.3 million and having a density of 742 per square mile. The province covered an area of 82,876 square miles. Over 68 per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture, 10.5 per cent in industry, 6.2 per cent in trade, 2.3 per cent in transport, 2 per cent in public administration and liberal arts and the remaining 7.6 per cent in miscellaneous occupations.

THE PARTITION—ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

With the creation of the Dominions of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947, the former province of Bengal was divided into two separate provinces, West Bengal, which belongs to the Dominion of India, and East Bengal, which is part of the Dominion of Paki-

stan. The partitioning of the province has brought about certain fundamental changes in the relative economic position of the two units. East Bengal remains a predominantly agricultural area, while about 92 per cent of the large-scale production is confined to West Bengal. East Bengal is favourably placed in respect of cottage and small-scale industries like handloom cotton weaving, jute weaving, the button industry, the conch-shell industry, etc. The mineral resources of East Bengal are, however, very poor, while West Bengal is rich in coal, iron ore and certain other minerals. East Bengal's hydro-electric power resources are extensive provided they can be tapped successfully.

Now that the respective Governments of East and West Bengal are to follow individual lines of agricultural and economic policy, it is essential to have a proper estimate of the various agricultural resources of the two units. The inadequacy of statistical data in our country is a handicap to this line of inquiry but any State planning requires a complete and clear picture of the country's resources before any programme of development can be fixed on scientific lines. Collection of data relating to each sector of national economy, its appropriate tabulation and rational interpretation can only indicate the lines along which action should be directed. The extreme importance of statistics in the realm of State planning is now increasingly realised by our Government and it is hoped that early measures will be adopted to secure integration of both agricultural and industrial statistics in the provinces and States.

In the following pages I have attempted a general assessment of the agricultural resources of East and West Bengal, based on the latest available statistics, which may be of some interest to people in trade and to the general public. The article presents merely a summary of economic facts, with no attempt at future planning.

AREA AND POPULATION

East Bengal, as constituted under the Boundary Commission Award (Radcliffe Award—1947), comprises 16 districts of the former united Bengal together with the district of Sylhet from the province of Assam. The total area of the province is about 54,100 square miles, representing about 65 per cent of the total area of undivided Bengal, with a population of about 41,800,000. The average density of population is 792 per square mile and the percentage of Muslims to the total population is about 71. West Bengal covers an area of about 28,700 square miles with a population of over 20 million. Of the total population, about 75 per cent are Hindus and the number of Muslims is believed to be slightly under 5 million. The average density of population is 756 per square mile. About 70 per cent of the total cropped area of undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal.

CHIEF CROPS—RICE

United Bengal contributed about one-third of India's total rice production, containing about 34

per cent of the total acreage under rice. Rice constitutes the staple food of the local people and it occupies the largest cultivated area in both East and West Bengal. The average annual production of rice in East Bengal is calculated at 6½ million tons, while West Bengal produces about 3½ million tons. With the partition, about 70 per cent of the acreage under rice in undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal.

According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total production of rice (*aman*, *aus* and *boro*) in West Bengal is estimated at 3,202,730 tons and that of East Bengal at 6,107,370 tons. Both the provinces will face a heavy deficit in rice during the year 1948. Although the largest rice-producing areas are found in Bengal, the province as a whole is deficient in respect of food supplies. However, considering the total area available for cultivation and the culturable wastes in East and West Bengal, it is probable that with improved and more intensive cultivation and better irrigation facilities both the provinces can attain self-sufficiency in the matter of rice supplies. It is estimated that there are about 2,100,000 acres of culturable wastes in East Bengal and 1,625,000 acres in West Bengal. The current fallows in the respective provinces are estimated at 488,000 acres and 468,000 acres.

The following table shows the total acreage and estimated yields of rice in the two provinces according to the latest official statistics :

<i>East Bengal</i>		
	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
Winter rice (<i>aman</i>)	13,355,500	4,738,800
Autumn rice (<i>aus</i>)	4,803,500	1,200,000
Summer rice (<i>boro</i>)	464,000	168,570
Total	18,623,000	6,107,370
<i>West Bengal</i>		
	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
Winter rice (<i>aman</i>)	6,500,000	2,805,000
Autumn rice (<i>aus</i>)	1,415,100	379,000
Summer rice (<i>boro</i>)	36,000	18,730
Total	7,951,100	3,202,730

Of the 497 rice mills in undivided Bengal, about 79 are in East Bengal and 418 in West Bengal. These mills are capable of milling about 85 per cent of the total marketable surplus of paddy in both the provinces. The majority of the mills in East Bengal are primitive in type with a limited milling capacity.

JUTE

Jute is the principal commercial crop of Bengal. As an undivided unit, Bengal was the only exporter of this fibre to the whole world and produced over 90 per cent of India's total supply. During the last few years, united Bengal exported, on an average, raw jute worth Rs. 10 crores and jute manufactures worth Rs. 54 crores per annum. The division of the province has placed East Bengal in a much more favourable position in respect of the supply of raw jute, the province contributing about 92 per cent of Bengal's total pro-

duction. According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total area under jute in undivided Bengal was 2,287,845 acres (representing 50 per cent of the acreage in 1940), of which about 90 per cent or 2,058,670 acres were in East Bengal and 10 per cent or 229,175 acres in West Bengal. The estimated yield of raw jute in 1947-48 is about 6,842,605 bales (400 pounds each) for East Bengal and 549,470 bales for West Bengal. The following table shows the total acreage and yields of jute in the two provinces :

1947-48 Crop Forecasts		
	Area (acres)	Yield (bales of 400 pounds each)
East Bengal	2,058,670	6,842,605
West Bengal	229,175	549,470
Total	2,287,845	7,392,075
Total of Indian Union	645,685	1,695,970
Total of Pakistan	2,058,670	6,842,605
Total (India and Pakistan)	2,704,355	8,538,575

All the 104 jute mills of the former united Bengal are located in and around Calcutta, and West Bengal accounts for about 57 per cent of the world's total looms engaged in the manufacture of jute textiles. There are no jute mills in East Bengal and the province has only 20 to 25 jute baling presses with an estimated daily production capacity of 5,000 to 6,000 pucca bales. In spite of the virtual monopoly enjoyed by East Bengal in respect of raw jute supply, the province has very limited facilities for direct export to foreign countries. Jute is more important as an item of export and foreigners are interested mostly in jute manufactures. Most of the supplies from East Bengal are sent to Calcutta for foreign shipment either as raw jute or as hessian and gunny bags. This has put West Bengal in a position of clear advantage.

The total annual consumption of raw jute by the mills in West Bengal is estimated at 6,000,000 bales, while the supply from the province does not cover more than 9 per cent of the requirements. The local production is hardly sufficient to meet the essential domestic needs, and it is doubtful if West Bengal will be able to produce any exportable surplus of jute within the next few years. Under the present scarcity of food supplies, it is not advisable to encourage unregulated extension of jute cultivation in the province but immediate steps should be taken to increase the yield per acre. With improved methods of cultivation, better seeds, use of fertilisers, consolidation of holdings on an economic basis and reclamation of the culturable wastes and current fallows, the province can expect to become at least self-sufficient in the matter of jute supply.

TEA

United Bengal contributed about 20 per cent of India's total production of tea, having about 26 per cent of the total acreage. Assam and Bengal together

accounted for more than 80 per cent of India's total crop. On an average, Bengal exported tea worth over Rs. 20 crores per annum. East Bengal (excluding Sylhet) does not account for more than 3 to 4 per cent of Bengal's total supply of tea. With Sylhet, however, the position of East Bengal has improved considerably, the area under tea in the province now being 74,112 acres (about 41 per cent of West Bengal's total acreage). The following table shows the estimated acreage and yields of tea for the two provinces during 1947-48 :

	Area (acres)	Yield (pounds)
East Bengal	74,112	41,700,000
West Bengal	180,000	110,000,000
Total	254,112	151,700,000
Total of Indian Union	766,435	543,300,000
Total of Pakistan	74,112	41,700,000
Total (India and Pakistan)	840,547	585,000,000

West Bengal is, however, more fortunate in having some of the most productive tea gardens of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. The better liquoring teas are also grown in this province.

TOBACCO

Undivided Bengal produced about one-fourth of India's total raw tobacco, containing about one-fifth of the total acreage under the crop. The north Bengal zone—the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri together with Cooch Bihar State—includes nearly four-fifths of the tobacco area in Bengal. In 1943-44, the total area under tobacco in Bengal was estimated at 300,000 acres with a total yield of about 110,000 tons. East Bengal is favourably placed in respect of the supply of raw tobacco, containing more than two-thirds of the total acreage of undivided Bengal. The following table shows the estimated acreage and yields of tobacco in East and West Bengal for 1946-47 :

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
East Bengal	112,200	43,500
West Bengal	55,000	21,000
Total	167,200	64,500

Of the three tobacco factories in undivided Bengal, all are in West Bengal.

OILSEEDS

The area under different oilseeds in undivided Bengal was about 8 to 9 per cent of the total acreage in India. The province exported oilseeds worth Rs. 2 crores per annum. Linseed, mustard and sesamum (*til*) constitute the principal vegetable oilseeds produced in Bengal. East Bengal is better placed in respect of the supply of oilseeds, containing about 62 per cent of the total acreage. However, due to the inferior qualities of the seeds and their low oil content, the oil mills of Bengal depend to a great extent on imports from other provinces. It is estimated that over 140,000 tons of

rape and mustard seeds are imported into Bengal per annum. This handicap can probably be removed by introduction of better varieties of seeds and demarcation of suitable zones for their economic production. The following table shows the estimated acreage under different oilseeds in East and West Bengal according to the 1947-48 forecasts :

Area Under Oilseeds
(acres)

	East Bengal	West Bengal	Total for Bengal	Total average yield for Bengal (tons)
Linseed	107,000	42,100	149,100	30,000
Rape & Mustard	415,500	144,500	560,000	130,000
Sesamum (<i>til</i>)	84,200	10,200	94,400	33,000
Groundnut	400	3,000	3,400	1,000
Castor seed	2,400*	200
Cocoanut	13,500*	..
Total	507,100	199,800	822,800	194,200

There are about 170 oil mills in West Bengal including the small factories employing less than 20 workers. Of these, about 15 to 20 mills are run on an organised scale. East Bengal is unfavourably placed in respect of vegetable oil production, the number of organised mills operating in the province being under five. There are, however, quite a number of oil presses (village ghanies) in East Bengal which are operated on a cottage scale. These ghanies are mostly engaged in crushing mustard seeds.

SUGARCANE

Bengal is extremely deficient in respect of supply of sugar, being dependent for more than 80 per cent of its annual requirements on imports from other provinces. The two provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces together account for more than 70 per cent of India's total sugar production. The average annual production of sugar in undivided Bengal was about 20,000 to 25,000 tons (representing only 2 per cent of India's total), while the actual production in 1946-47 amounted to 18,678 tons. Low yield per acre, poor recovery of sugar per cent cane and inferior varieties of cane grown in the province are responsible for low production. According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, the total area under sugarcane in East Bengal is estimated at 224,500 acres while West Bengal's acreage is placed at 54,500 acres. East Bengal contains about 80 per cent of the total acreage under sugarcane in undivided Bengal.

Of the nine sugar factories in Bengal, six are in East Bengal and three in West Bengal. There are good potentialities for developing the sugar industry on successful lines in both the provinces. The West Bengal Government is understood to have obtained sanction from the Government of India for establishing additional sugar factories in the province. At present, West Bengal does not produce more than 14 per cent of its requirements and the situation in East Bengal is no better.

WHEAT

Bengal does not contribute more than 0.5 per cent of India's total supply of wheat. Before the partition, Bengal imported about 222,000 tons of wheat every year from outside. However, the per capita consumption of wheat in the province is very low, being only 12 pounds per annum. According to the 1946-47 crop forecasts, the total area under wheat in undivided Bengal was 192,300 acres, of which about 75 per cent or 144,225 acres were in East Bengal. The total annual production of wheat in East Bengal is about 30,000 to 35,000 tons, while West Bengal produces only 10,000 to 12,000 tons. The flour mills in both the provinces are dependent on imported wheat to a great extent. There are about ten flour mills in West Bengal, while the number in East Bengal is negligible. Some recent arrangements have, however, been made in East Bengal for milling atta and flour.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Bengal grows mostly the perishable varieties of fruits including mangoes, bananas, oranges, pineapples, guavas and plums. The province is deficient in respect of supply of dry fruits. The famous 'Malda' mangoes are found in East Bengal while the 'Darjeeling' oranges are grown in West Bengal. Prior to the inclusion of Sylhet, East Bengal had little acreage under oranges but with Sylhet the province has now a large supply of this fruit. According to the 1943-44 crop statistics, the total acreage under fruits and vegetables (including root crops) in undivided Bengal was about 934,600 acres, of which more than 60 per cent were in East Bengal. West Bengal, however, contributes about 60 per cent of the total potato production of Bengal. In the absence of separate statistics, the following table showing the extent of fruit production in undivided Bengal may be of some interest :

	Area (acres)	Yield (maunds of 82-2/7 pounds)
Mangoes	137,406	19,206,026
Bananas	110,100	55,050,000
Oranges	2,000	410,160
Other citrus fruits	475	47,500
Guavas	500	22,500
Pineapples	4,660	233,000
Plums	25	3,125

Source : *Report of the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee*, published by the Government of West Bengal, 1948.

West Bengal has good potentialities for developing the fruit preservation industry but at the present time the industry is small compared to that of the United Provinces or the Punjab (East and West).

East Bengal has extensive supplies of fish, eggs and poultry. A considerable percentage of these commodities in the Calcutta market comes from East Bengal. The Government of West Bengal has, however, launched a four-year scheme of pisciculture in every union and sub-division of the province. The scheme will cost the Government about Rs. 4½ lakhs and when completed,

* In the absence of separate figures, the totals for undivided Bengal are shown : the estimates relate to figures for 1943-44.

it is expected to make the province self-sufficient in the matter of fish supply. The province has also good potentialities for developing coastal fisheries along the Bay of Bengal.

COTTON

Bengal is at a disadvantage in respect of cotton supply, its production being only 0.4 per cent of India's total. In 1940-41, the acreage under cotton in Bengal was 81,000 acres and production amounted to 29,000 bales. India produced about 4.5 million bales of cotton in 1946-47, of which Bengal's share did not exceed 20,000 bales. About 70 per cent of the total acreage under cotton in undivided Bengal has gone to East Bengal but the quality of cotton produced in both East and West Bengal is inferior and unsuitable for use by the local spinning mills. Before the war, most of the supplies from Bengal were exported to Japan. As only short-staple cotton is grown in both East and West Bengal, the textile mills and handlooms operating in the provinces are entirely dependent on imports from outside for their requirements of yarn.

Of the 39 textile mills of undivided Bengal, about nine are in East Bengal and the rest in West Bengal. Of the textile mills in West Bengal, about 14 are spinning mills and others are non-spinning. West Bengal has great potentialities for developing the cotton textile industry, while East Bengal has certain disadvantages in respect of power, labour and transportation.

SERICULTURE

Undivided Bengal contributed about 20 per cent of the total Indian production of raw silk, its annual production being about 300,000 pounds. Of the total supply from Bengal, about 70 per cent comes from Malda in East Bengal and the remaining 30 per cent from Murshidabad and Birbhum in West Bengal. Charkha silk comprises over 80 per cent of the total production. The following table shows the estimated production of raw silk and cocoons in the two provinces :

	East Bengal	West Bengal	Total for Bengal
		(pounds)	
Filature silk	35,000	15,000	50,000
Charkha silk	175,000	75,000	250,000
Total	210,000	90,000	300,000
Cocoons	4,200,000	1,800,000	6,000,000

In 1946-47, the total acreage under mulberry in Bengal was estimated at 9,500 acres, of which over 7,000 acres were in East Bengal. The quality of silk produced in both the provinces is not properly graded and standardised. The most serious defect of Charkha silk is that it is not continuous which makes it unsuitable for weaving with speed machinery. The local weaving mills, therefore, prefer the imported silk from Japan, China, U.S.A. and other countries. Both provinces have scope for the improved cultivation of mulberry and production of better quality of silk with proper assistance from their respective Governments.

There are six silk weaving mills in West Bengal with about 700 power looms in operation. More than 3,000 handloom silk weavers are working in Murshidabad and Bankura in West Bengal. East Bengal has no silk-weaving factories.

HIDES AND SKINS

Bengal is a primary centre for supply of raw hides and skins. The province contributes more than one-fifth of the total Indian production of raw cow-hides and 11 per cent of raw goat-skins. Of the total supply from Bengal, East Bengal contributes about 80 per cent of the raw cow-hides and 70 per cent of the raw goat skins, the largest supplies coming from Dacca and Chittagong. In the pre-war days when there were not many export restrictions, Bengal exported raw hides worth Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 lakhs and goat skins worth over a crore of rupees per annum. The following table shows the estimated production of hides and skins in both the provinces :

	East Bengal	West Bengal	Total for Bengal
		(number of pieces)	
Raw cow hides	5,144,000	1,286,000	6,430,000
Raw goat skins	2,117,500	907,500	3,025,000

As there are no presses for baling hides and skins in East Bengal and the port facilities at Chittagong are limited, most of the supplies from East Bengal are sent to Calcutta for foreign shipment. There are about 300 tanneries in Bengal including 256 small Chinese cottage tanneries. Of these, about 15 or 16 are fairly organised and 5 or 6 are run on a large scale. Almost all the tanneries are in West Bengal.

PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS

The Governments of both East and West Bengal have announced extensive plans for the improvement of agriculture in their respective provinces. Abolition of the zamindari system, State development of waste lands, and construction of irrigation facilities are planned for the near future. With the abolition of the zamindari system, the Government of West Bengal proposes to take over all the agricultural lands in the province and introduce co-operative farming. The East Bengal Government proposes to establish peasant proprietorship of all agricultural lands, as opposed to State ownership envisaged so far. There is no artificial irrigation system in East Bengal ; the rivers Brahmaputra, Padma, Meghna, Dhaleswari and Lakshya with their tributaries provide natural irrigation. The Government, however, intends to start work on a multi-purpose scheme, known as the Karnafuli project, in Chittagong. The West Bengal Government, in alliance with the Governments of Bihar, Orissa and Nepal, is interested in early completion of the various multi-purpose schemes like the Damodar-Kosi project, Mahanadi project, and the Maurakshy Reservoir project. The West Bengal Government has also prepared a scheme for the erection of a barrage across the river Ganges with a view to improving the crop conditions of central

Bengal on either side of the Bhagirathi and to resuscitate the dying rivers Bhairab, Jalangi, Mathabhangha and Ichamati of central Bengal. Most of these schemes are incorporated in the Government of India's national development projects and the Central Government will contribute substantial financial aid. The multi-purpose projects, when completed, will provide extensive irrigation facilities to West Bengal and will make possible scientific pisciculture and afforestation on a wide scale. The hydro-electric resources of the province will also be immensely increased. A full-fledged agricultural college is to be established in West Bengal some time this year.

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S PLACE IN HISTORY

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WHEN the historian of the future would appraise the greatest men of world history and evaluate their place in creative thought and activity, he will surely find no name standing out more spectacularly and convincingly than that of Gandhiji who even in his own lifetime came to be looked upon as an *Avatar* or the greatest man of his age. He was not merely the greatest man, but the noblest and saintliest man too, and as the sorrowing humanity has now begun to realise, the conjunction of the highest greatness and the loftiest nobility is scarcely witnessed in history and unfortunately too little understood and honoured. His death is, therefore, an irreparable loss to the world as a whole.

The real supremacy of Gandhiji lay in the remarkable integration of life that was witnessed in his whole career. He never stood apart as a lofty apostle. If he was truly a Mahatma, he remained a man of the people amongst the people. It was his sterling nobility no less than his absolute oneness with the poor and oppressed humanity that won for him the unbounded faith and affection not only of his own followers but of all people who knew him. A torch-bearer of humanity, he was universally loved for his noble simplicity and purity of soul which came to him through a continuous cleansing of the spirit by means of sacrifice and prayer. Like a *Sanyasin* he denied himself all earthly possessions and had the supreme pleasure of having all and owning nothing. And, his humanity to man and to all sentient beings knew no barriers of caste, creed or nationality. He refused to make any distinction in his relationships with Hindu or Muslim, Christian, Parsee, Buddhist or Jew, or people of any other denomination. He treated all as his friends and regarded humans and sub-humans as parents of the same Truth which is God. Who will forget his sympathies and sacrifices for his fellow

countrymen in South Africa or in India, for the down-trodden Harijans, for the submerged women, for the sub-humans, and for the unfortunates of all creeds and races? He was in the truest sense of the term an internationalist and was the highest type of the humanized man.

That Gandhiji had a rich and composite personality is well known. It would not have been a complicated affair, if he had merely been a Buddha, a Chaitanya, or a Kabir. There was in him the moral grandeur of all such saints. There was also in him the practical leader of the world who could come down from his lofty heights to guide the footsteps of the ordinary mortals. Thus, it would not have been as beautiful or as valuable, if he had just been a saint or a teacher of mankind. It was the wonderful blending in him which was the fundamental feature of his character. What he meant to humanity, and also what he achieved for humanity, was due to the fact that he was more things than one. The blending was not merely one of modes of life, but was one of the ancient Aryan culture and the modern civilisation. As a great link between the two, he could be a great reconciler. The name of one who could bridge the spiritual and the temporal, as well as the East and the West, was bound to pass the connotation of a mere humanist to the connotation of a way of life or an institution that can save the war-weary humanity of today.

The principle of non-violence which is Gandhiji's greatest contribution to the world is nothing which is strictly original, for it has existed in India for centuries. But, his originality lay, firstly, in that he applied the principle unlike his ancient and medieval prototypes to the political sphere and to inter-group and international relations, and, secondly, in that he re-emphasised it against the demoralising influence of

Western militarism. Thus, he gave to the unarmed masses a strength not of bullets and bombs, such as the mighty oppressors possessed, but the soul-force inborn in every human being which the world of today has yet to understand and which carried to its logical conclusion can abolish war for all time. To return force for force is to degrade oneself to the level of a brute who appreciates strength only in terms of death and destruction, while the power of non-violence is the power of life and of the soul which cannot be enslaved or destroyed. It was on the basis of this philosophy of non-violence that Gandhiji struggled to free the soul of India and turn his countrymen who were slaves into real men again, their heads raised high and fit to fight for their ultimate fulfilment without recourse to physical violence. Fear was conquered by soul force, and people in India achieved a new dignity born of truth and fearlessness. The free India of today symbolises the triumph of Gandhiji's power of non-violence as a practical political weapon; it also reveals the glory of man's soul-force. It was by this soul-force that Gandhiji induced thousands to court jail and other sacrifices and it is this very force which can still rescue the present civilisation from its impending doom.

To Gandhiji belongs the supreme glory of sacrificing his own life for the fulfilment of his mission. It requires two to create a trouble, and if one steadfastly refuses to be one of the two, there cannot be any quarrel. And, if there is violence from one side, the other side can meet it more effectively by refusing to resist with violence. It is this doctrine, theoretically as old as civilisation, which Gandhiji applied to the conduct of human affairs, not unlike Buddha who had said, "If hatred responds to hatred, when and where will hatred end?"

It was one of the turning-points in world history that Gandhiji chose the path of suffering and *satyagraha* in the cause of justice for his countrymen. He had been to South Africa on a professional visit to work as a lawyer in a big case. So far he had only a vague idea of the colour bar and of the disabilities under which his fellow nationals laboured there. But, as he journeyed from Durban to Maritzburg he experienced it in all its repulsive brutality. He had a first class ticket, yet he was forcibly pushed out of his compartment simply because he was Indian. That was a cold winter night and Gandhiji made the great choice of his life while he sat shivering on the open railway platform. He could have returned to India, and passed his days as a lawyer, but he refused to do so. He chose to fight against racial disabilities not by force of arms but by moral force, and thus developed his technique of *satyagraha* which when translated to the larger sphere of Indian politics wrought the miracle of a transformation of a middle class political agitation into a mass awakening which incidentally is the biggest revolution known to world history.

In Gandhiji's view *Swaraj* was not merely the end of foreign domination. It was the moral regeneration

of the people. His constructive programme was only a means to that end. His Khaddar programme was the poor peasant's salvation, for it summed up the reawakening of his creative genius. His fight against untouchability and the drink evil was meant to promote the moral and social welfare of the people. His educational ideas reflected in the Wardha scheme was for the cultural rearmament of the common people. Last, but not the least, the communal unity programme which he propagated till the last minute of his life was for the development of a truly secular state in India. Above all, he sought to make religion and prayer a part and parcel of the nation's life, for he believed that these can not be divorced even from politics and that no work, however great, will really prosper unless it has a moral backing. For a complete fulfilment of this moral discipline, he inculcated the vow of truth, the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, the vow of Brahmacharya, the vow of the control of the palate, the vow of non-thieving, the vow of *Swadeshi* and *Khaddar*, the vow regarding the untouchables, the vow of fearlessness and the vow of national education. Thus, through this all-comprehensive programme of *Swarajya*, Gandhiji sought to raise politics to the dignity of a religion and uplift mankind through an ethical and humanitarian revolution. It may be that the world is not yet ready for this moral revolution, yet it is the richer for having witnessed the first application of this moral ideal under modern conditions of strife and violence.

Gandhiji's contribution to Indian politics has been as spectacular as it has been momentous. He created a general will and made India a nation. He gave it a new shape by creating a mass movement which functioned both horizontally and vertically. To him more than to any other single individual may be attributed the newly won freedom of India and he has justly been called the Father of the Nation—the great liberator of India as also of Asia. To him may also be attributed the great miracle of making his countrymen worthy and capable of this freedom. His was the word which swayed India's leaders and India's masses, and it was he who stemmed in a truly heroic fashion the tide of communal hate and violence that rushed in the wake of India's partition. His faith in communal unity did not falter in the darkest hour of his life. The fasts he undertook so often in his life was a *tapasya* of the highest order for the good of the misguided humanity.

Statesman and apostle, humanist and Yogi, Mahatma Gandhi came and opened up a new path for India and the world. The power which he released through his life of sacrifice and martyrdom is imperishable. He has taught us that the forces of destruction will overtake those who rely upon them, and that life and freedom can be ours only if we could revive the moral spirit in us. His own autobiography is a wonderful revelation as to how the moral spirit can triumph over the body. Through his life and also his death, he has shown us in action the ideal of humanity to come.

PRINCIPLES OF A GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

By KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.

In the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi our Swaraj to be real must begin at the bottom.¹ He believes that every village in our country should be a Republic or Panchayat having full powers, even those of defending itself against the whole world. This does not mean that every village in India will be completely self-sufficient and even isolated from the rest of our country or the world. In the words of Gandhiji himself :

"In this structure composed of innumerable villages there will be ever widening, ever ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units."²

We may be eager to build up for India a constitution based on these ideas. But there is a difficulty that nowhere in the writings of Mahatma Gandhi do we find a complete picture of the position of the village in the future constitution of India. During the last thirty years of his life he was mostly engaged in a life and death struggle to make the British quit India, so that he found little time to give us that picture. In a sense, he had even not the intention to do so. For as a Satyagrahi, he believed :

"The very nature of the science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him."³

Recently in a booklet named *Gandhian Constitution for Free India* and published in January, 1946, Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal made an attempt to give some idea as to what Gandhiji had in his mind in relation to the future constitution of our country. It is necessary to examine this brochure carefully, for Gandhiji said in a foreword to it that Principal Agarwal had done what for want of time Gandhiji himself had failed to do. "There is nothing in it," says Gandhiji, "which has jarred on me as inconsistent with what I would like to stand for."⁴

The central theme in the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi in respect of Swaraj is his passionate zeal for the restoration of the village republics of India. Principal Agarwal has aptly described this idea as 'villagism'. Gandhiji in his usual mystical way has

often described his ideal as the realisation of Ramrajya. But what is Ramrajya in our times, when Ramchandra, the illustrious son of Dasaratha, is no more? In the words of Gandhiji himself :

"It can be religiously translated as kingdom of God on earth. Politically translated, it is perfect democracy in which inequalities based on possession and non-possession, colour, race or creed or sex vanish. In it land and state belong to the people, justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and, therefore, is freedom of worship and of speech and the press—all this because of the self-imposed law of moral restraint. Such a state must be based on truth and non-violence and must consist of prosperous, happy and self-contained villages and village communities.

An analysis of these words will show that Gandhiji has pinned his faith on the high ideals of equality, justice, fraternity, truth and non-violence, all to be realised in actual life in the village communities of our country. No one can seriously dispute about the value of all these ideals. We have always heard of these ideals from the most ancient days down to the present day, though the inevitable imperfections of human nature have always put some limits to their realisation in actual life. The thing that needs here careful study is Gandhiji's insistence on the restoration of the village republics of our country

This villagism surely does not mean medievalism. The essential thing about the village life in medieval India is generally, though wrongly, supposed to be the isolation of the villages from the rest of the country and the world. Gandhiji is opposed to this idea of isolationism, because this is neither possible nor desirable. As Principal Agarwal says :

"In Gandhiji's scheme the villages of our country should be properly co-ordinated to the Taluka, the District, the Province and the All-India centre through the Taluka and District Panchayats, Provincial Assemblies and the Federal Parliament."⁵

Indeed, if we suppose that Gandhiji accepts the scheme proposed by Principal Agarwal, then we shall have to say that according to Gandhiji in his ideal constitution for India the President of the lower Panchayat shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher Panchayat or Assembly. Thus under this scheme "even the President of the All-India Panchayat shall be the president of his own village Panchayat as well;" he shall at the same time be a president of the Taluka, District and Provincial Panchayats. In fact, Gandhiji wants to develop on modern lines our villages

1. *Harijan*, July 28, 1946.

2. *Ibid*.

3. *History of the Congress* by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, p. 955.

4. Foreword to the *Gandhian Constitution for Free India*.

5. *The Hindu*, June, 1945.

6. *Gandhian Constitution for Free India*, p. 68.

7. *Ibid*, p. 101.

which have existed from the prehistoric times in our country but are now in a dilapidated condition. This going back to villages is not to become primitive or medieval :

"It is," as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has said, "the only way to keep up a mode of existence that is instinctive to India, that supplied her once with a purpose, a faith and a meaning."

It is therefore wrong to suggest that Gandhiji wants to put the hands of the clock back and take us to medieval times. What he wants may be described in modern parlance as decentralisation. Though he wants to concentrate most of his attention at the present moment to the urgent task of resuscitating the village republics of India, he is not negligent about the relationship of the villages to the rest of India and, indeed, to the whole world. According to Gandhiji, there can be no real conflict between the interests of the village and those of the country, the world or even of the whole universe. All that Gandhiji wants is that the basis of our material existence should be the village or the locality in which we live and that there we must try our best to live a life which is in harmony with all the rest in the universe. For practising and realising the high ideals of inter-nationalism and universalism we need not go from one part of the world to another. If we really serve our neighbours and countrymen, we will, in effect, be serving all other conceivable interests, for in spite of apparent conflicts before our eyes we are living in a universe which is essentially harmonious. Gandhiji's patriotism is only apparently exclusive in the sense that in all humility he confines his attention to the land of his birth. But it is really inclusive in the sense that his service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature, for he wants to identify himself with everything that lives."

There are historical, political, economic, sociological, military and cultural reasons for this scheme of decentralisation. An emphasis upon the local autonomy of the villages and other self-governing institutions is quite in keeping with the historical traditions of ancient India. The institution of local self-government, said late Romesh Chandra Dutt, was "developed earliest and preserved longest in India among all the countries of the earth."⁸ The Vedas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vishnumriti, the Jatakas, the Arthashastra of Kautilya, the Nitisara of Sukracharyya, all make mention of the village commonwealths of our country. Megasthenes, the Greek traveller, Hieun Tsang and Fa Hien, the Chinese travellers, and many other historians have all spoken very highly of our village systems. Many religious and political storms passed over the country with the invasions and depredations of the Scythians, the Greeks, the Saracens, the Afghans, the Mongolians,

the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French and the Danes, but the rural republics of India continued to flourish in our country till the rise of the East India Company to political power.

"The independent development of local government," says Dr. Radha Kumud Mookherjee, "provided, like the shell of a tortoise, a haven of peace where the national culture could draw in for its own safety when the political storm burst over the land."⁹

When, however, the British Government deliberately introduced the Ryotwari system as against the Mahalwari system, a serious death-blow was dealt to the corporate life of the village republics. The centralisation of all executive and judicial powers in the hands of the British bureaucrats only added to the speed of the deterioration of the powers and influence of the rural functionaries. If, therefore, we try to revitalise the rural life in our country, we will simply be following the footsteps laid down for us by the history of the last few centuries in our country.

Many modern political thinkers, including Joad, Cole, Huxley and Laski, are strongly in favour of decentralisation. On the political plane we can easily accumulate arguments in favour of decentralisation. Local needs are better understood by local people than by persons living at a distance. In a crowded state of modern times the central government can rarely find time enough to discuss all the details of local problems. Experiment in new schemes of legalisation, laws relating to prohibition, for instance, is possible and effective only in a decentralised local area. Local autonomy gives colour and vigour to the local people and thus adds to their diversity. It also trains people in the art of self-government and makes their obedience really creative and revivifies their faith in social action. Effective decentralisation involves that there will be direct election only for the village panchayats and indirect election for the rest of the panchayats. The scheme of indirect election suggested by Principal Agarwal is that the president of the lower panchayat shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher panchayat. This system of election will obviously combine the advantages of both direct and indirect elections. It will avoid waste of money, time and energy involved in direct elections specially in a vast country like ours. It will automatically put a check on the unhealthy activities of the political parties, which under elections through large constituencies increasingly tend to be rigid and crystallised. There will be little room for corruption and bribery; for in village elections personal acquaintance will certainly put these things at a discount, and in case of all other higher assemblies, elections will be mostly in the hands of persons of status and responsibility and therefore not easily subject to temptations. Under such a scheme we are not likely to see those election meetings of our

8. S. Radhakrishnan, *Mahatma Gandhi, Essays and Reflection on His Life and Work*, p. 27.

9. Ray Walker, *Wisdom of Gandhi*, p. 155.

10. R. C. Dutt, *Economic History of India*.

11. *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 10.

times which have been described by Mr. Bernard Shaw as :

"Scandalous and disgusting spectacles at which sane and sober men yell senselessly until any dispassionate stranger looking at them would believe that he was in a lunatic asylum of exceptionally dreadful cases of mental derangement."¹²

Under the scheme, moreover, it will not be difficult to secure the responsibility of the representatives to their constituencies, for each of the constituencies here suggested will be very small and therefore capable of acting, whenever necessary.

There is also an economic justification for the principle of decentralised government specially in a country like ours. It is obvious to anybody that large-scale production in economics in our times has led to large-scale government, that is, to centralised government. If we want to introduce the principle of small-scale production on a cottage industry basis, we will be automatically urging for a scheme of decentralisation. India at the present moment has a surplus of human energy not fully employed. If we want to give employment to all our people in India and Pakistan who number 400 millions at present, we cannot possibly solve our problem by mechanical large-scale production alone. It has been estimated that there are only about 2 million workers employed in the heavy and large-scale industries in our country. If following the Bombay planners, we wanted to expand, say, five times the heavy industries in our country, these would give employment to only about 10 million people. But what about the remaining 390 millions? All of them cannot be farmers, for this would mean an excessive subdivision of land; and only a small addition can be made to the professional class. Even the farmers in our country are not fully employed; they are badly in need of supplementary industries to add to their small incomes. All this leads us to the inevitable conclusion that however much we may like to develop heavy or "key" industries, for the present, at least, we must concentrate our attention to the principle and policy of cottage-industrialisation and consequent decentralisation. Even Gandhiji does not seem to be entirely against the principle of large-scale production in spite of its obvious evils of mechanisation. To the question whether cottage industries and large-scale production can be harmonised, he said :

"Yes, if they are planned so as to help the villages. Key industries, industries which the nation needs, may be centralised. Under my scheme nothing will be allowed to be produced by cities which can equally be produced by the villages. The proper function of cities is to serve as clearing houses for village products."¹³

"Mechanisation," says Gandhiji, "is good when hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more

hands than required for the work, as is the case in India."¹⁴

Gandhiji, therefore, is not wholly opposed to the principle of large-scale production. What he emphasises is that the present circumstances in India want us to concentrate more of our attention and energies to the development of cottage industries.

There are other arguments also in favour of cottage industries.

"A product," says Henry Ford, "that is used all over the country ought to be made all over the country to save transportation and to distribute buying power more evenly."¹⁵

Besides, we can easily see that "small units capable of diversified production and quick adaptation are more economical than large units."¹⁶ It may also be remembered that uncontrolled large-scale production in its search for external markets creates consciously or unconsciously an atmosphere for war which means huge loss for the whole human race.

From the point of view of the defence of India also we can make out a case for principle of decentralisation. If the national economy is wholly based on centralised industries, its dislocation can be easily brought about by means of air-bombing by any enemy. The defence of China against Japanese aggression was greatly helped by her industrial co-operatives which made almost all the Chinese villages self-sufficient in regard to the necessities of life by spreading a network of cottage-industries all over China.

We must not also neglect the cultural and sociological sides of decentralisation. The principle of decentralisation will encourage the virtues of simplicity, humanity and sanctity of labour. Those among us who do not like the complexities of modern city-life will find a suitable atmosphere in the decentralised villages where they may pursue the spiritual ideal of simple living and high thinking. And, needless to say, we must have some among us who like Prof. Einstein will surely say, "Possession, out-ward success, publicity, luxury—to me these have always been contemptible."¹⁷ Village life with its simplicity can also give a deeper opportunity of coming into very intimate contact with one's neighbours and this will greatly help the spirit of humanity in us. Sanctity of physical labour is emphasized by the scheme of decentralised cottage industries and it cannot be denied that this emphasis is a great necessity in our country. The principle of decentralisation will also train us in the virtue of non-violence. Non-violence essentially means love, a capacity to feel for others, and thus develop a will which is in fact a general will looking to the common good of all. Simplicity, respect for human lives and sanctity of physical labour which will be emphasised

12. *The Political Mad-House in America and Required Home*, 25-26.

13. S. Radhakrishnan, *Mahatma Gandhi, Essays and Reflections*.

14. *Harijan*, November 16, 1934.

15. Henry Ford, *Today and Tomorrow*, p. 109.

16. Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, p. 342.

17. *I Believe*, p. 70.

PRINCIPLES OF A GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

in our small village republics may go a long way to teach us the principle of non-violence.

Under Gandhiji's scheme of decentralisation we shall have from the sociological point of view open-air rural life in place of modern congested cities. The busy and noisy life in the cities often causes a serious strain upon our nerves and may even lead to a complete breakdown of health. To prevent such things we must develop our villages where villagers will live in peaceful and health-giving circumstances and which urban people may occasionally visit to gain joy and vigour.

These are the general arguments in favour of the scheme of decentralisation suggested by Principal Agarwal. But anyone can easily see that decentralisation by itself will not do. Unless decentralisation is supplemented by a corresponding scheme of centralisation, it may easily degenerate into disintegration. If there are historical, political, economic, military, cultural and sociological reasons for decentralisation, it can also be seriously urged for similar reasons that there is also a good case for centralisation. The historical argument in favour of decentralisation is easily over-done. It means in effect that because we had some things in the past, we should have the same things in the present. But, in fact, new circumstances may require new things. In these days of wide and rapid communication, when scientific discoveries have enabled us to run over the land, swim through the seas and fly through skies, to urge the simple case of decentralisation without a corresponding scheme of centralisation is to fight for the lost cause.

Decentralisation may mean loss of uniformity in legislation which is no less useful than diversity to be encouraged by the principle of decentralisation. There is also an economic case for centralisation. Scientific discoveries lead to world-wide communications. world-wide communications lead to world-wide trade, and world-wide trade leads to world-wide government. This is the inevitable s-rites of the 20th century. As soon as you accept large-scale industries,—and Gandhiji even does not propose their total rejection,—we must also accept large-scale government, that is, centralisation.

The military reason for centralisation is perhaps the most important. India as an independent state must have an army, an airforce and a navy. Even Gandhiji, the supreme visionary had to be a supreme realist and a practical idealist in this respect. As Gandhiji says :

"Alas ! in my Swaraj of today there is a room for soldiers . . . under Swaraj you and I shall have a disciplined, intelligent, educated police force that would have order within and fight wisdom from without, if by any means I or some one else does not show a better way of dealing with either."¹⁸

If this Indian defence is to be strong, it must be united and, therefore, centralised,—an argument which prompted many of us to hesitate to accept up to the last moment the Muslim League demand of Pakistan,

involving a division of India into two states with separate arrangements for defence.

Again, if we want to enrich our local culture, we must have ingredients of it, not only from the different parts of our own country, but also from other parts of the world. There is also a sociological side for centralisation in this that if we want to improve human breed, there should be marriages not only between persons of different castes but also of localities, religions and nationalities.

All this is sufficient to show that while pleading for the new theory of villagism we must not over-emphasise its value, nor give only one-sided arguments. When we want decentralisation and give arguments in favour of it we should be careful enough not to forget the necessity of centralisation and the arguments in favour of that. Life is not full unless it is centralised in certain respects and decentralised in certain other respects.

If the position of the village in the new Indian state is properly understood, I might now give a short description of the organisation and functions of the village republics as described by Principal Agarwal in his booklet *Gandhian Constitution for Free India*. There will be in every village or a group of small, neighbouring villages, a panchayat, ordinarily, of five persons elected for a term of three years and doing all the legislative, executive and judicial business of the locality, with the help of the village officers. Its main functions will relate to education, recreation, protection, agriculture, industries, trade and commerce, sanitation and medical relief, justice, finance and taxation. It will run a primary or lower basic school through the medium of a productive craft, maintain a library and a reading room and run a night school for adults. It will encourage folk songs, folk dance, and folk theatre, maintain a gymnasium, and a playing field, and arrange exhibitions and fairs. For the purpose of defending the village republic from thieves, robbers and other criminals and wild animals, the village authorities must maintain village guardians and impart regular training to all citizens in the technique of Satyagraha or non-violent resistance and defence. The village government will pay most of its attention to the smooth running of agricultural and industrial activities of the village, making proper arrangements for irrigation, consolidation of holdings and co-operative farming, supplying seeds and implements, checking soil erosion and reclaiming waste land, assessing rent of each agricultural plot and collecting it from the landholders, reviewing, scrutinising and if necessary,

interest, organising the production of Khadi and other village industries, running a co-operative dairy and a village tannery, organising co-operative marketing of village products and co-operative consumers' societies, supervising the imports and exports of the village, maintaining co-operative godowns and running the village banks. The sanitary and medical department of

the village republic should take charge of the drainage system, prevent public nuisances, check the spread of epidemics, make arrangements for pure drinking water and maintain a village hospital and maternity home. The village republic must provide cheap and speedy justice to villagers and make arrangements for free legal aid and information. For doing all these things money will be necessary and for this taxes may be imposed and donations encouraged.

To co-ordinate the social, economic and political activities of the villages there will be the Taluka Panchayats, the District Panchayats, the Provincial Panchayats, and the All-India Panchayat in succession. These authorities may do many other functions suitable to the locality. In the urban areas there may be Municipal Panchayats, subdivided into ward panchayats. The status and functions of the Municipal Panchayats may be similar to those of the District Panchayats. The functions of the higher bodies should be advisory and not mandatory, and restricted to guiding, advising and supervising and not commanding the lower Panchayats. So far there is no difficulty in the suggestions of Principal Agarwal. He aims at a five-tier constitution with the villages, Talukas, Districts, Provinces and the All-India centre as the respective units. This is somewhat similar to the three-tier constitution suggested by the Cabinet Mission in their statement of May 16, 1946 for the provinces, the groups and the All-India centre. But when he goes on to suggest that "the president of the lower Panchayat shall be the ex-officio member of the next higher Panchayat,"¹⁹ that "even the president of the All-India Panchayat shall be the president of his own village Panchayat as well,"²⁰ and that the All-India President "shall at the same time, be a member or president of the Taluka, District and Provincial Panchayats,"²¹ I do not think that we should accept his contentions. It ought to be obvious that it is physically impossible for one man to be in charge of so many official posts if he wants to do the proper duties of his position; and if any one does occupy them, pressure of duties here, there and everywhere may simply make him fly from one part of the country to another.

I would suggest that the proper method would have been for the lower Panchayat to elect a special

representative to represent its interests to the next higher body. This representative will be in the position of an ambassador of a smaller state to a higher state, though every village, Taluka, District, and Province may, whenever necessary, send its representatives to similar bodies in other parts of the country on a footing of equality.

I hope many will agree that the principles here suggested represent vital improvements over the constitutions that are in existence today in different parts of the world. I may here emphasise three important aspects in respect to which our principles differ from those in other countries. First, our emphasis is on decentralisation or villagism while others emphasise centralisation or nationalism. Secondly, we suggest a modification in the modern theory of federalism, for while simple federalism implies what may be called a two-tier constitution we are thinking in terms of a five-tier constitution. Thirdly, under the constitution that we have suggested we are not likely to see the evils of the modern party system, such as, one-sided propaganda during elections, opposition to the policies of the government for the sake of opposition itself, inclusion of able and important men from the government on account of their belonging to a different political party, etc. This third aspect need to be emphasised because party organisations are becoming increasingly rigid and even violently conflicting, so much so that members of the administrative and judicial services are definitely prohibited from having any connexion with any political parties. Under our scheme the situation would be completing otherwise. Needless to say there is in our scheme no trace of a suggestion in favour of the Communist doctrine of the dictatorship of a single political party. But we are also no supporter of the Anglo-Saxon model of politics in which there is opposition for the sake of opposition itself.

I have here given a short idea of a constitution for India drawn up from the bottom. I know that there is almost no chance of this idea being immediately accepted by our present constitution-makers, though most of them often speak so much in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, who, in fact, is the main inspirer of this ideal. However let us try our best to popularise the cause. A day may come when the whole country, nay, the whole world may be eager to accept this basis of an ideal constitution based on the Gandhian Ideals of truth and non-violence.

19. *Gandhian Constitution for India*, p. 101.

20. *Ibid*, p. 101.

21. *Ibid*, pp. 101-2.



THE ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE Royal Academy of London, the official British institute for the display of the visual arts, devoted its annual Winter Show to a comprehensive Exhibition of Indian Art lent by the Indian and Pakistan Governments. By the co-operation of a British Committee appointed by the Royal Academy and a Committee of Indian experts appointed by the Indian Education Department, presided over by the Hon'ble Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, valuable monuments of old Indian sculpture and masterpieces of Indian painting from public and private collections were chosen and lent for the Exhibition which was opened in London on the 19th November, 1947. Though the India Society, London, has occasionally arranged for Exhibitions of Indian Art, principally representing modern Indian painting in its various phases, nothing like a really representative show of ancient Indian Art in all its phases and schools had been attempted before. And from various points of view, the recent Exhibition sponsored by the Royal Academy has been of great interest and significance.

The Exhibition has almost synchronized with Indian Independence and the cessation of British Dominion in India. The history of the cultural relationship between India and England is a doleful story of tragic significance. Throughout the long period of about two centuries, the relationship between the two great nations has been one of ruthless political domination and sordid commercial exploitation which has not only worked out the systematic economic ruin of India, but a slow but sure strangulation of Indian art, culture, and civilization. No serious attempt had been made, at any time, during this period of subjection, to foster the growth and development of Indian arts and crafts, the traditions of which cover an uninterrupted period of about five thousand years, and the flow of which stops abruptly from the date of the establishment of the British rule in India. The British rulers and missionaries, no doubt, to further their own ends, had given to India various educational institutions, public and private, which have quickened interest, on the part of Indians, in English language and literature, and through the latter, knowledge of European culture and civilization had spread in India, hitherto wholly engrossed in her own traditional culture and philosophy of life. Indians have assimilated the best lessons of English literature if not of English culture, in a manner, unprecedented in the history of any other non-English-speaking people in any part of the world. The interest which Indian nationals had developed in English literature and culture, had hardly been reciprocated by cultured Englishmen. These dark clouds

are relieved by the tiny lamps that three Englishmen lighted to explore the hitherto unknown but extensive continent of Indian art and culture, generally ignored and disdained by the average Britisher in India, armed in his racial arrogance which engendered the belief that India had nothing to offer in the sphere of culture worth his serious attention. The three Englishmen who shed their racial prejudices to focus their attention on an unbiased study of Indian culture, are glorious names which elevate the cultural relationship to a respectable level—Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, E. B. Havell, the great English champion of Indian Art, and Sir John Woodroffe, the most sympathetic exponent of the basic tenets of Indian life and philosophy and one of the founders of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Two other names deserve honourable mention in this connection, the late Sister Nivedita (Mrs. Margaret Noble) and Dr. James H. Cousins, whose deep and abiding interest in Indian Art have made valuable contributions towards a mutual cultural exchange, leading to a sympathetic understanding and appraisal of the achievement of Indians in the domain of the visual arts.

Various French and Dutch publications, during the last thirty years, have recorded the appreciation of the merits of Cambodian, Siamese and Indo-Javanese Art on the part of French savants and connoisseurs, but the continental Art of India, the source and pivot of its colonial branches, had *not* received adequate attention on the part of European connoisseurs. And one is tempted to refer in this connection to the interesting fact that an almost contemporary appreciation of Indian Moghul painting by Queen Maria Theresa of Austria is on record in the decoration of her Schonbrunn Palace, a room of which was covered with a series of Moghul miniatures imported from India. To this a recent parallel is afforded by the decoration of the India Office in London by a group of contemporary Indian painters.

Anyhow, the recent exhibition organized by the Royal Academy is the first serious tribute paid to the merits of Indian Art, hitherto ignored or denied by a group of British archaeologists and antiquarians in India, unable to shed their racial prejudices and somewhat obsessed by their exaggerated belief in the Greco-Roman standards in Art, which prevented an unbiased understanding and appreciation of the highly original qualities and merits of Indian Art, which E. B. Havell championed throughout his life.

The most typical of the English attitude towards Indian Art is recorded in the tirade of John Ruskin, in the insult offered to the image of the Buddha by Sir

George Birdwood, the Victorian "authority" on Indian Art, and in the apathy and the positive distaste of Indian Art admitted by Roger Fry, the foremost English critic, in his *Last Lectures*.

Such being the doleful history of English understanding of Indian Art, one is naturally curious to ask: Has there been a change of heart conducive to an unbiased appreciation of India's aesthetic achievement? The reactions to this magnificent display of Indian masterpieces can be most conveniently judged from the extracts from criticisms which appeared in the London Press, some of which are set forth below:

"The sculpture is inevitably disappointing. Reft from its architectural background, most of it on a very small scale, it would have stood more concentrated grouping than it has received, and it is little helped by a background which fails to show it up. Even in its own surroundings and seen on the scale of Ellora, Madura, or Seven Pagodas, Indian sculpture is not easy to appreciate, probably because it is impersonal in style, and the individuality one looks for in European sculpture is suppressed here and subordinated to an abstraction. Indian sculpture bears perhaps to European much the same relationship as the ballet bears to the drama; it is generalized, and individuality is absent." (*Nature*, London).

"Prominent among representative pieces in the exhibition is the head of a horse from Konarak, in Orissa, that shows the Indian genius for creating three-dimensional forms. But perhaps the chief glory of this period are the bronzes, the average quality of which at the exhibition, is, if possible, superior to that of the stone sculpture. Foremost among them is a Dancing Siva from Madras Museum, undoubtedly, the finest bronze from Asia, and some think in all the world, a supreme example of the rhythm and vitality that make the greatness of all Indian sculpture." (*Broadcast in the B.B.C.'s Far Eastern Service*).

In course of an appreciative review of the Indian paintings, Basil Gray is led to comment on a late but charming drawing from Orissa, which is worth quoting:

"I suggest that the painting at the Royal Academy should not be thought of as the poor descendant of the classic wall-paintings, but as a new school with a vision and content unique in history, revealing fresh achievements of the spirit of man." (*The Listener*, London).

The comments of F. G. Mories are in many respects remarkable and worth quoting:

"The exhibition now on view at Burlington House is in many respects the most impressive show I have ever seen. It is awesome by its dignity; a dignity which appears to be the outcome of a prolonged religious ecstasy and the slow evolution of a deep-rooted tradition. Sculpture at its best, here it is superlative, lacking the wide chromatic scale of painting, has to make its appeal through pure

form, and form as it appeals to me in these Indian masterpieces is severe. The word "severe" meant originally to the Greeks worshipful, and surely we are bound to feel the element of worship conveyed by these images of gods, prophets and pietists where such are depicted. . . . For us of the occident these oriental and sacred figures cannot have the religious appeal they had to those for whom they were made. Nevertheless we may sympathise even when our sympathies are not the same: the unfamiliar by meditation awakens in us the family feeling inherent in mankind. To a Christian continent, with its religious roots in the East, the disparity is not so great as may at first appear. However that may be, the permanent interest to art-lovers is the aesthetic, and in this Indian Exhibition there is a volume of work so rich in artistic content that many visits will be necessary to those people who want to assimilate it at all." (*The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle*).

Stuart Simmonds has made very piquant comments which we quote:

"The bronzes typify the incredible vitality of Indian Sculpture. These anonymous craftsmen, even where restrained by strict iconographical conventions, were yet free to draw upon life for their rhythms. For them the laws of sculpture, painting, music, and the dance were directed towards a single end. They worked with unqualified grace and lightness of touch, and by remembering the flesh and blood of the living being, they achieved, while working at their religio-symbolic figures, that mysterious sense of life which marks off the true work of art from the work of the intellect alone." (*Isis*, Oxford).

Sir Richard Winstedt, Vice-Chairman of the Royal Academy Exhibition, has said:

"I think Britain has a lesson to learn from Indian Art."

Mr. Noel Baker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has made certain remarks which are pregnant with meaning:

"British people have a new and vivid interest in India and Pakistan which they have never had before. The exhibition would be one factor in helping them to get back to a saner conception of what human life is for. Contingents must work in a new relationship of freedom, equality and co-operation if civilization were to be saved and mankind given the destiny it ought to have."

A writer in the *Great Britain and the East* has remarked:

"Full appreciation of India's cultural heritage by the Indians themselves has not always been apparent in the turbulent history of that mighty sub-continent. Today, however, there is a new awakening—not only by the peoples of India, but by the peoples of the West—to the glories of India's arts, and this re-valuation must be carefully fostered and preserved at all costs."



MAHARANA PRATAP SINGH

By PROF. S. K. BANERJEE, M.A.

RANA PRATAP SINGH, the eldest son of Rana Udai Singh by his first wife, was probably born in the fort of Kumbhilmir in 1540 A.D. During the life-time of his father, Pratap had no opportunity of displaying the manly qualities which became prominent in his later career. His father who was a slave to his youngest queen, selected Jagamala, the step-brother of Pratap, as his heir to the throne. Like Sher Shah, Pratap was neglected by his father and despised by his step-mother and so he was thrown on his own resources in his youth. But fortunately, Pratap had admirers and supporters, especially his mother's relatives who were not ready to see Jagamala on the throne of Chitore at a time when the perils of the kingdom demanded a strong man at the helm of the State.

After the demise of Rana Udai Singh, though Jagamala sat on the throne of Chitore for a few hours, the Sardars placed Pratap on the throne on 26th February, 1572.

After his accession to the throne Pratap turned his attention to the internal organisation of the empire. He knew that the trial of strength with Akbar was inevitable; but he should get time. Fortunately Akbar was engaged in the Guzrat campaigns and so he was allowed much-needed respite. Akbar wanted to secure the submission of Pratap without appealing to arms and that was why he sent Kumar Man Singh and Raja Bhagawan Das to Udaipur to persuade Pratap to acknowledge his supremacy. Pratap was not less shrewd than his rival and he played his cards well. He entertained his guests and by shrewd diplomacy he was able to make Akbar believe his good and friendly intentions. During this time he did not remain idle but was preparing himself for the coming storm. He knew that the evil day that was to come, was not far off. He at once took steps to organise his Government and devised regulations to make his army more efficient and better equipped. He repaired and strengthened the fortresses and decided like Shivaji to adopt guerilla warfare against the Mughals.

Akbar who was a strong annexationist, and was the embodiment of the political principle preached by Kautilya—"Whoever is superior in power shall wage a war"—could not endure the existence of a strong independent kingdom in Mewar. He knew that the Rajput Chiefs who had been deprived of their independence sullenly brooded over their losses and they were ready to spring at the smallest opening for revolt. Honour and prestige of the empire demanded that the picture of independence should be wiped off from the memory of the Rajputs. In other words, the Crown of Mewar—the symbol of Rajput independence—must kiss the feet of the Mughal emperor. Dr. V. A. Smith puts in a nutshell the *casus belli*:

"His (Rana's) patriotism was his offence. Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his

astute policy and could not endure independent attitude assumed by the Rana, who must be broken if he would not bend like his fellows."

Akbar was determined to destroy Pratap, but Pratap was not the man to fail or falter in the face of difficulties and in grim earnestness he set himself to the task of dealing with the situation in a bold and decisive manner. He resolved to uphold the honour and dignity of his house by sacrificing himself in the service of his Motherland.

In 1575, Akbar sent Man Singh and Asaf Khan against Rana Pratap. They arrived at the pass of Haldighat where the Rajputs and the Mughals were to engage one another in a death grapple. The Rana came out of the mountains with his followers and caused the Rajputs on the Mughal side to flee away like a flock of sheep. The battle—a ferocious hand to hand struggle—raged from early morning to midday ending with the defeat of the Rana. Pratap retreated into the hills but the Mughals did not venture to pursue him.¹ The battle of Haldighat like the battle of Thermopylae was one of the few events in history in which defeat was more glorious than victory and Rana Pratap immortalised his name by fighting against the overwhelming number of the Mughal army.

Pratap's spirit was not damped by the defeat. He detected his mistakes; he changed his tactics and decided not to fight face to face with the Mughals. He fortified every pass of the Aravalli and these were entrusted to the Bhills. Then the hide and seek game was started between the Rajputs and the Mughals and the latter being harassed by the Rana's army left Mewar. Akbar could not conquer Mewar even by sending three expeditions in a year. In the next year (1577) Akbar made vast preparations to humble the pride of the Rana and Abul Fazl records that Shah Baz Khan was appointed to command the force and the execution of the task was committed to him.² The Mughals captured Kumbhilmir and ransacked Udaipur and Gogunda, but Pratap did not bend. Shah Baz Khan being tired and disgusted left Mewar. After the departure of Shah Baz Khan, Pratap recaptured most of his places. Akbar sent two other expeditions against the Rana, one in 1578 under Shah Baz Khan and another in 1584 under Jagannath Kachchhava, but to no purpose. Pratap soon recovered all Mewar except Chitore and Mandalgarh and spent his last 11 years in peace and tranquillity. He breathed his last in 1596.

Tod in his book, *Annals of Rajasthan*, has recorded many incidents, to wit: Sakta Singh was rebuked by Prince Selim in the Mughal camp after the battle of Haldighat; Pratap Singh was reduced to a state of abject misery to such an extent that he had to take shelter with the Bhills and once Pratap expressed his

1. Akbar, the Great Mughal, p. 151.

2. Lowe's Translation of *Muntakab-ut-Tawarikh*, II, p. 239.

3. Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 307.

desire for entering into a subordinate alliance with the Mughals when a wild cat made off with the grass cake, kept for his belly-pinched daughter; but these are nothing but cock and bull stories. Selim at the time of the battle of Haldighat was a boy of six years and so it is quite impossible that he could then rebuke Sakta Singh. As regards the second incident, it may be said that even in his worst days Pratap was the master of the territory extending from Kumbhilmir in the North to Wrishavpur in the South (about 90 miles) and from Devari in the East to Sirohi in the West—about 70 miles. This area was fertile and so there is no reason to think that Pratap's family had to live on grass. Pratap swore, says Tod, that so long as Chitore would not be recovered he and his descendants would not take meal on gold and silver plates, would pass nights on grass and would wear beards. Gouri Sankar Ojha opines that these are invented stories. The present fashion of wearing beards and whiskers among the Rajputs dates from the time of Farukshiyar and not earlier.⁴ Ranas of Udaipur never keep grass under their bed.

Rana Pratap's reign, full of strenuous activities extending over a period of 20 years, is unique in the annals of Rajputana.

"Had Mewar" says Tod, "possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the ten thousand would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar."

Pratap Singh was born in an aristocratic family of Rajputana and was of noble descent on both sides. His was a full stature of growth and manhood which was tall, stout and well-proportioned; commanding was his figure. He stood as the finest example of *mens sana in corpore sano*. He fought many battles but it is said that he had no sign of wounds in his body.

Pratap Singh was one of the greatest personalities of medieval India. He was the embodiment of the spirit of Rajput independence. He had before him the heroic deeds of his ancestors who had held aloft in their time the banner of freedom and so while his fellow prince "vied with one another in promoting the glory of the empire," he vowed, in the words of the bard, "to make his mother's milk resplendent." The be-all and end-all of his life was to preserve the honour and prestige of his race. But this was not an easy task because he had to measure his sword with Akbar who in the words of Dr. V. A. Smith, at this time, "was the most powerful in the world . . . and was immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth." But nothing could daunt his heart. The strength of his purpose made him steady like a rock unshaken by winds. All attempts of Akbar failed before the grim determination of Pratap and the latter performed his sacred duty by planting the tree of freedom Mewar. He gave the freedom-loving Rajputs

independence and appeared to his countrymen as the star of a bright hope before whom all dark and ugly shadows vanished away.

His personal magnetism was great which enlivened his followers and made them cheerfully perform their heavy duties. His patriotism and self-sacrifice helped Mewar to regain that moral supremacy over Rajputana which she had lost at the battle of Khanwah where Rana Sangram Singh was defeated by Babar. It was the strength and vigour which he injected into the life of his countrymen that defied the might of Akbar. His unselfish patriotism strengthened the Rajputs at home by swelling the tide of common sentiment and patriotic fraternity in the bosom of every individual citizen of Mewar. The great Hindu-awakening which destroyed the vitality of the Mughal Empire in the 17th century was to a great extent the result of Pratap's work. He stands in the same political relation to Rana Raj Singha as Philip of Macedon is to Alexander.

Rana Pratap was a hard-working ruler and the trials and adventures of his life had strengthened every fibre of his body and developed in him the qualities of patience, courage and self-reliance. His indefatigable industry and minute attention to details are well worthy of a Shivaji or a Peter.

Pratap was a king, but he never played the king. He did not consider it *infra dignitatem* to work with his soldiers. He did not hold the throne for personal enjoyment and luxuries but he cherished a lofty ideal of kingship. If the Grand Monarch Louis XIV claimed, "I am the State", Pratap like Alfred and Frederick the Great said: "I am the first servant of the State." He was a real shepherd of his people. Like Sher Shah he followed the maxim that "it behoves the great to be always active."

Pratap Singh was a statesman of no mean order. The task of a statesman "is not merely to envisage a great purpose but also to see how far his resources can carry him." Pratap had the gift of grasping quickly the possibilities of situation and he knew his limitations.

He was a great soldier and in his campaigns there was a rare union of caution and enterprise. Though he had to wage wars in order to realise his aims, yet he was not a man of cruel nature or of blood-thirsty temperament. His chivalry and kindness to the women of Khankhanan Abdur Rahim (as related by Rajput historians) were not unworthy of an Alexander.

The name of Pratap is a household word today not only in Rajputana but also all over India. So long as the freedom-loving people of the world will worship the patriots, the name of Pratap will remain shining like a star. He was a patriot of unequalled integrity and brilliance, a man of the people, full of fire and daring who infused thousands with electric throbs of *amor patriae* that were in his soul. His career will instil hope and enthusiasm into the hearts of Indian patriots and make them cheerfully perform their sacred duties without failing or faltering before a formidable enemy.

4. *Rajputana's Itihasa*, Part III, p. 772.

5. *Akbar, the Great Mughal*, p. 148.

NATURE'S MOST AMAZING ANIMAL

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

Elephants have from time immemorial excited great and popular interest, always unsurpassed by the interest aroused by other animals. Among the many wild animals of the world, that which after capture turns out to be very useful to man, is the elephant. Both in times of peace and war, elephants have been known to be willing workers. The elephant has always been one of the wonders of the world, amazing in its aspect and full of delightful and surprising qualities alike of the head and the heart. The remarkable degree of intelligence it possesses and its huge size and conformation have won for the elephant an exalted position.

History eloquently testifies to the part played by elephants in war. Hasdrubal is said to have used elephants driven by Indian *mahouts* at the battle of the Panormos in 251 B.C. In the Second Punic War, Hannibal and Hasdrubal both made great use of the elephants. It is recorded that at the battle of Raphia the Libyan elephants of Ptolemy failed against the Indian beasts of Antiochos. Hannibal's army which forced its way through the mighty Alps had a number of war elephants. The ancient Carthaginians used war elephants in many of their battles. Greek historians speak of Indians as accomplished masters in the art of capture and training of wild elephants. The miracle of domesticating the elephant was first achieved by the people of India.

The two distinct species of elephants existing at the present time are the Indian and the African. The Indian elephant is easily distinguished from its African brother by the size and shape of its ears, the ears of the African elephant being four to five times bigger than those of the Indian and sail-like in appearance. The African elephant has fewer enamel plates in its molars and has a rounded skull like that of the ancient mastadon. The Indian elephant has complex teeth. Its forehead is marked by a depression or valley, separating the two rounded knob-like projections which part along the middle line. The Indian elephant is more attractive in appearance, and more useful to man.

Elephant carvings in Indian temples have won competent appreciation from art critics and naturalists. Elephants have an immense hold on the affections of the people of India. The Hindu God Ganesa or Ganapati is elephant-headed. He is invoked at the outset in all ceremonies and enterprises. The elephant is the famous and favourite *vahana* of Indra, the Lord of all Devas. According to Hindu mythology which is most colourful, Lord Indra rides on the back of his white elephant, named Airavata, which has four tusks a pair on each side. As such the elephant is regarded as a sacred animal. An ancient Hindu belief based on the scriptures is that the eight corners of the earth are borne by eight elephants known as the *Ashtadika-*

Of all the animals in Travancore the most characteristic and the oldest is the elephant which is also the undisputed master of the forests. Elephants move about in large herds along the cardamom hills of North Travancore. Very seldom is a solitary elephant seen in the wilds. When one does come across a single elephant, the experience might well be a death-dealing affair. Ordinarily an elephant is not a killer. But there is an occasional 'rogue' elephant, one which turns bad, because of disease, or injury, fury or some other reason. There is no more dangerous beast in the world than the 'rogue.' When an individual elephant breaks



An elephant under training being led by a decoy elephant

the laws of the herd, he is expelled and becomes the so-called 'rogue.' He is a social outcast and savage. The usual theory is that some old and cantankerous elephant is driven out of the herd, especially during the *musth* or rutting period, by a more powerful male and this ill-tempered fellow gradually turns out to be a confirmed 'solitary' and in the end becomes extremely dangerous to human life and property.

When in herds elephants are easily frightened and they scamper off at the slightest sign of danger. Elephants do not remain in one place for any length of time. They move about from spot to spot in search of food and drink. They are a set of black wandering

rogues. During the first month of the year, water begins to fail in the higher regions. Then elephants go in search of the coolest and thickest parts of the forests. So they descend to the lower regions, where there are rivers. Dr. Ludwig Schuster, a Natural Science scholar, who made a special study of African wild elephants and their ways, has observed that elephants during the hot season are able to divine the existence of water in parched areas and that they make pits in the earth with their tusks and thus get at water. With the approach of the monsoon elephants climb to the higher regions of the wilds. The summer resort of these lords of the forests is the upper region, and the winter resort the lower one.



A baby elephant following its mahout

In the month of September when grain ripens, these terrible denizens of the woods rush down to the low country and make devastating raids upon the corn-fields. The elephant in its wild stage is a dangerous enemy to man. It destroys his crops and even his life. Wild elephants cause great havoc on the cultivated area, partly because of their liking for the crops and partly owing to a sort of mischievous wantonness. During the season, the cultivators keep very vigilant watch at night; they sit and watch by big fires, which with the beat of tom-toms serve to scare away the marauders. The natives also erect a platform, out of the reach of elephants and keep watch from there. Such structures seen in the fields, are popularly known as *anamadoms*, literally meaning elephant-huts. The marauders, when in company, are very easily kept off by the noise made by the tom-toms and gongs. But a single and experienced bull elephant, a clever rogue and long accustomed to such things, pays no heed at

all to the deafening and frightful sounds created by the watchers. He roams through the fields at his pleasure and makes a sumptuous feast of the crops. In November, elephants which have descended to the plains rejoin their comrades.

It is said that every herd is led by a hero tusker of ripe age and vast experience who gropes his way along with a sapling to assure safety for himself and his followers. Hunters in the African wilds have stated that African elephant herds are led by cows among them. Mutual aid among elephants is highly developed. Prince Kropotkin in his interesting work *Mutual Aid* refers to the "compound families" of elephants, their mutual attachment, their deliberate ways in posting sentries, and the feelings of sympathy developed by such a life of close mutual support. According to Samuel W. Baker, the distinguished authority on wild beasts and their ways, elephants combine in larger groups than the "compound family."

THE PIT METHOD

Wild elephants are captured during the hot weather when they descend in groups to the lower regions seeking water. In places through which elephants usually pass, deep pits of fifteen feet depth and of the same diameter are very carefully dug by clever and experienced hands. The excavated earth is scattered at a distance to avoid suspicion, for elephants are very wary and keep aloof from danger.

The pits are wide at the top and narrow towards the bottom and are made in such a way that it would be extremely difficult for the unwary beasts that have fallen into them to climb out. The bottom of the pits has usually a diameter of nine feet. The mouth of a pit is concealed very carefully with dry sticks, leaves, grass and small shrubs, so that the whole place looks exactly like a part of the ordinary forest. Sometimes big herds of elephants are driven to roam about the vicinity of such snares. It is very difficult to locate a herd and to find out the way through which it would pass. Elephants do not, however, wander about through one and the same path always. Aged and experienced masters of woodcraft examine the grass and from the nature of its withering and the dryness of the elephant dung determine the course of the herd. The hill-men are experts in this line.

Watchers are appointed by the State to guard these pits and report whether any animal has fallen a victim to the snares. When an elephant treads over a pit the twigs and leaves covering the top give way and the animal fall down with a loud and frightful yell. So inhuman and barbarous this method is that in some cases the sudden fall dislocates or fractures the limbs of the animal. Watchers turn up and close the mouth of the pit with heavy logs of wood immediately after an elephant has fallen into the pit. For a few hours the animal is left unto itself unmolested and is free to make wild and frantic efforts to effect its escape. But thoroughly overcome by fear, hunger, fatigue and

NATURE'S MOST AMAZING ANIMAL

want of space even to move about freely, the unfortunate beast find to its utter dismay all its incessant and spirited efforts defeated. Finally, the animal is completely exhausted. After having tried various

and when enough has accumulated so as to level the pit up, the wild victim appears at the top and finds itself to its awe and despair, surrounded by a team of decoy elephants and many men.



A captured elephant being taken out of pit. On either side are seen two decoy elephants

methods of escape with no success, it gives up all attempts and patiently waits for things to happen. Very seldom does an elephant which has fallen into the pit manage to effect its escape.

Now, experts deputed for capture of elephants turn up and begin their operations. The most striking and interesting feature in this exciting affair is the use of the tame elephants known as decoys, without whose willing help it would never be possible for men to capture wild elephants alive. When the decoy elephants and their clever mahouts are ready, operations to capture the ensnared wild elephant are set in full swing. First, a strong rope is most dexterously put round the neck of the wild elephant in the pit. This is the most difficult part of the tough job. Then another rope noose is thrown round the elephant's hind leg and tightened. Dry boughs, the undergrowth of the forest, and loose earth are thrown into the pit little by little. The wild elephant rendered helpless tramples on the material

The ends of the strong ropes secured round the neck and legs of the captive animal are held firmly by the tame elephants. The wild elephant is placed between two strong and experienced decoy elephants and marched off to the nearest cage. If the beast thus captured is found to be too old or badly injured it is let off in the forest. Ropes are fastened around its neck. In this manner the proud and wild beast is taken prisoner and escorted by tame elephants. The capture is most interesting and extremely risky. With all the experience, intelligence and caution of the tame elephants and their mahouts sometimes the wild animal gets out of control. It is no wonder, therefore, that this exciting sport attracts large crowds of people. For many days and nights, the station where an elephant capture



The captured elephant being conducted to the training cage by two decoy elephants

has taken place, is the busy centre of much activity, enthusiasm, mirth and uproar. The animal thus captured is immediately removed to a cage. The pit method is very popular in Travancore.

THE KEDDAH METHOD

There is another method adopted to capture these denizens of the forest which is more popular in Mysore. It is known as the *keddah* method and is more risky than the pit method. On the way through which elephants usually pass, huge stockades built of massive teak tree stumps are erected. The enclosures are narrow at one end and broad at the other with a V-shaped entrance. Stout logs of strong heavy timber are driven deep into the ground very close to one another, forming an unassailable palisade. Inside it small trees and bushes are grown in abundance. At the entrance which is flung open and around the palisade, sugarcane, a food liked very much by elephants, is grown in clusters.



Elephants hushing timber

The whole place looks exactly like a part of the dense forest. The only entrance to the stockade is a big gate which can be opened and closed without much effort. The animals as they move about are attracted by the dainty food and eat their way into the *keddah*. Sometimes elephant herds are driven into the *keddah*. Daring and skilled forest folk, with drums, empty tins and other crude sound-producing instruments, gather near a big herd and drive them helter-skelter. In this mad rush some elephants run right into the stockade. As soon as they are safe within, agile watchers barricade the entrance. The animals madly rush hither and thither and soon realise their plight. In fury they hurl themselves against the walls of the stockade but are pricked with goads and long bamboos and driven back by men posted round the *keddah*.

The most thrilling and dangerous part of the operation which follows is the "roping" of the elephants. Decoy elephants armed with iron chains and carrying on their backs mahouts dressed in black

and green enter the stockade unnoticed. The decoy elephants in pairs entice the wild elephant to be roped and chained. With their trunks these tame ones corner their victim. Then a mahout, as agile as a nimble monkey, with ropes and chains in his hand stealthily creeps under the feet of the tame elephants, approaches the wild one unnoticed, passes a noose over its hind legs and disappears in the twinkling of an eye. With the help of the decoy elephants the skilled mahouts secure ropes and chains around the legs of the wild elephant. Ropes are scoured round its hind feet and the ends are fastened strongly to the palisade. This requires very great skill. The mahouts who rope and chain the wild beast must be quick, active and

if they do not take time by the forelock and are slow for a second the wild elephant is sure to get at them and in the twinkling of an eye they will be hurled up in the air and dashed against the ground. Some mahouts have had hair-breadth escapes. Jostled by the tame elephants and pricked by the goads of the mahouts the mighty pachyderms become thoroughly frightened and make terrific and ear-splitting din. The *keddah* method is most popular in Mysore.

The task of the decoy elephant involves great danger. The decoy has to capture and keep under complete control the wild elephant, has to take precious care of the mahout who sits upon its back and to protect itself from the furious onslaughts of the captive. The tame elephant plays its part wonderfully well with human-like sagacity, caution and valour. It is the ingenuity of man, coupled with and working through the medium of the highly intelligent and most willing tame elephants, that is from first to last responsible for capturing alive the lords of the wilds.

TRAINING OF WILD ELEPHANTS

Immediately after capture the wild elephants are led into cages to be trained. The beasts are closely watched by mahouts and decoy elephants. The mahouts by degrees make friends with the captives by frequently approaching them and offering them sugarcane and other dainty morsels. Ordinarily, the elephant is a glutton and greatly enjoys sweets. To make these lawless and rude denizens of the forest submissive to law and accustomed to peaceful life amidst men is indeed a very arduous and perilous task. The training of the wild elephants takes place in cages made of strong logs of teak wood and divided into two chambers—the upper and the lower. The wild animal is placed in the

lower chamber and the trainers take their points of vantage in the upper berth. The period ordinarily required to train a wild elephant is three to six months. In nine cases out of ten the captured animal needs to be handled roughly during the period of training. Armed with long spears and unbreakable canes, the dexterous mahout-masters teach and train their wild elephant disciples. It requires great patience, industry, intelligence and cleverness to tame the wild elephants. They offer resistance for the first few days, but give up all opposition after some days of severe handling by the daring and merciless mahouts who punish the recalcitrant elephants with physical chastisement. As far as possible the mahouts win the elephants over to their will by petting them and giving them good food. Soon there springs up an intimacy between the mahouts and the wild animals. Elephants being very intelligent learn quickly and subject themselves to the superior will of man. When the training is complete, on an auspicious day, the elephant is taken to the open road accompanied by decoy elephants walking on either side and

abreast of the newly trained beasts. Daily, under the vigilant escort of two tamed elephants, the wild beast under training is taken out for bath which it relishes immensely. The mighty beast having submitted to man eventually comes to serve him with deep attachment, affection and loyalty. Verily, the triumph of man over elephant is the supremacy of mind over matter.

*The torn boughs trailing o'er the tusks aslant,
The saplings reeling in the path he trod,
Declare his might,—our lord the elephant,
Chief of the ways of God.*

*The black bulk heaving where the oxen pant,
The bowed head toiling where the guns career,
Declare our might—our slave the elephant,
The servant of the Queen.*

—RUDYARD KIPLING.

The elephant, the most widespread of earth's huge animals and Nature's most amazing quadrupped, has learnt from the sad fate of its great ancestors, the mastadon and the mammoth, a lesson in life and has saved its race by being useful to man.

—:O:—

THE AMERICAN WEST : LIFE ON A CATTLE RANCH

For several generations the American cowboy has been considered a picturesque and legendary character the world over. Through books and films he has been

his wages in wild celebrations and returning to distant ranches to engage in exciting encounters with cattle thieves and "bad men."



A cowboy tending a herd of cattle on the plains of the western U. S. keeps a solitary vigil

presented to interested citizens of many nations as a fearless rider of America's western plains, galloping into frontier towns on Saturday nights with two revolvers, or "six-shooters," strapped to his legs, gambling away

ished. The cowboy was forced to go armed for his own protection and the protection of his employer's property.

When large portions of the public domain were

But that late 19th century period of picturesque lawlessness, so celebrated in song and story, has long since passed. The cowboys on the great ranches of America's western plains are working harder than ever before in raising a record number of beef cattle, for the great herds that feed on western America's rolling grasslands are the major food reserves of the United States.

Once these rolling plains echoed to the thunder of the hoofs of great herds of bison, ponderous bovine animals indigenous only to North America, but by 1880 hunters had destroyed most of them and the unfenced plains became tremendous pastures for cattle. Law had not caught up with this new frontier and cattle thieves, called "rustlers," and other lawless individuals, flourished.



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A bucking cow pony is with the help of ropes around the neck and fore-
legs managed to be thrown on its side to take its shoes off



Three American cowboys hold a young calf to mark the brand of
the ranch upon the animal's flank

closed to ranchers for grazing, late in the 19th century, the number of ranchers increased and their individual size dwindled. To a large extent the lawlessness had passed. Rustlers were brought to justice, and the cowboy could afford to be unarmed.

The American cowboy remains a colorful figure, however. He continues to wear the broad-brimmed "ten-gallon hat," so called for its usefulness in holding a large amount of water for horse and rider. He also wears high-heeled boots, designed for the stirrup and suitable for pressing into the ground to provide a purchase when the cowboy is afoot and has roped a horse or wild steer. His jingling spurs serve to start his pony at a full gallop when speed is needed to pursue cattle.

The modern cowboy carries on the tradition of self-reliance handed down by his predecessor, who often was forced to take the law into his own hands. His long periods of isolation on the lonely prairie make him generous and hospitable, ready to share his food and shelter with any stranger.

The horse is still the cowboy's principal means of transportation, and he prefers to "broak," or condition, the half-wild horses he himself will ride, rather than entrust the job to the professional horse-tamer or "wrangler," attached to almost every ranch. Above all, the cowboy must be proficient in throwing a rope or lariat around the neck or forelegs of a steer or running horse.

The cowboy's sports are closely related to his work. When he is not working, he is riding bucking horses or wild steers, roping running animals and racing horses.
—USIS.



An American cowboy is on the watch so that no stray animals from the herd of cattle may wander away

—:O:—

BANANA—THE FIG OF PARADISE

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

THE sharp contrast exhibited in fruit markets of the tropics and the temperate regions is marked. Marked because in the tropics, rich in sunshine and warmth, nature's gifted region in vegetation, the rich collection of the choicest fruits of the world are to be seen, which are conspicuous by their absence in the temperate climate. Among these mango comes first and next comes banana.

In tropical Asia banana is cultivated for more than 4,000 years and its antiquity and wild character are incompatible facts, says de Candolle,¹ there being a good many Sanskrit names. Also that sages ate its fruit and reposed beneath its shade, so the botanical name is *Musa*. It is derived from the Arabic *Mouz* or *Mouhoz*.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GENUS AND SPECIES

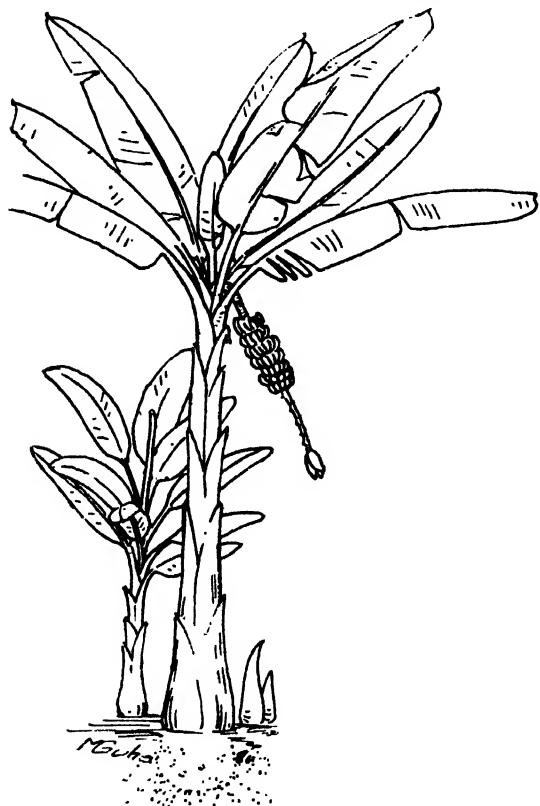
Bananas are gigantic tree-like herbs belonging to the genus *Musa*, containing some 40 or more species, several of which are often considered as mere cultivated varieties, widely distributed throughout the tropics of the old world and in some cases introduced into the new world.

"A form of *M. corniculata* from Cochin China and Malayan Archipelago produces only a single fruit, which, however, affords an adequate meal for

M. sapientum L. (= *M. paradisiaca* L.) are perennial herbs, 8-15 ft. in height, indigenous in the Eastern Himalayas, Assam, Manipur and Burma, ascending from sea level up to 6,000 ft. in altitude. Cultivated throughout India and the tropics (except extreme

1. Alphonse de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (1904).

The 'Singapuri' banana (*M. Cavendishii*) very popular throughout India differs from the above in this that the plant loves a cooler climate. The plant is dwarf and the bunch almost touches the soil containing more fruits than in any other banana. The peculiarity is this that the fruits when ripe remains the same pea-green in colour. The taste will not be good unless quite ripe. But after ripening it soon starts decaying.



The banana plant with suckers of different ages. The position of the rhizome has been shown in dotted lines

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

"Though native to the tropics, cultivated varieties are found in sub-tropical regions, and certain varieties are capable of withstanding considerable cold, as in the Himalayas, where the plant may be found at 5,000 ft. or even higher. Some variety is found throughout the tropics wherever adequate moisture is available, for the plant has no dormant period and as a lover of humid conditions thrives best where there is no sharply defined dry season. The natural home of the plant is the East, but tropical America and the West Indies are now a centre of commercial production of banana. The plant reached the Canary

Islands, which still remains a centre of production, in 1516, whence it was carried to America."

DISTINCTION BETWEEN BANANA (PAKA-KALA) AND PLANTAIN (KACH-KALA)

The distinct races known to us may be grouped under two heads, those grown for the ripe fruits and those for the half-ripe fruits, the latter being used as green vegetables. *Kach-kala* (plantain) is the general name given for those used as green vegetables. These are generally cultivated on much inferior soil than those of *paka-kala* (banana), which is eaten ripe.

WHY CULTIVATED : IMPORTANCE AS A FRUIT

"The area under fruits of all kinds is recorded as 1.8 million acres ; of this 60 per cent is devoted to mangoes, 21 per cent to bananas and nearly 5 per cent to citrus fruits (oranges, etc.)."

"Bananas, after mangoes, are the commonest and highly prized of all Indian fruits, while the coarser kinds constitute one of the staple articles of diet in many parts of India and the Malaya Peninsula being mostly cooked before being eaten. It has been proved that the produce from one acre will support a much greater number of people than a similar area under any other crop, and the immense yield may be preserved for an indefinite period by drying the fruit and preparing meal from it. . . .

"In medicine the unripe fruit is considered cooling and astringent. The young leaves are used as a dressing for blisters, burns, etc. The root and stem are reported to be tonic, antiscorbutic and useful in blood disorders and venereal diseases."

"The banana stands third (apples and oranges rank first and second) on the list of the popular fruits of English people, and it is estimated that 15.2 lbs. per head are eaten, all of which are imported."—(*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANT

The banana plant is composed of an underground stem, a tuberous rhizome from which arises an aerial or pseudo-stem, composed of the closely enveloped leaf sheaths, the corresponding blades, each sometimes 10 ft. in length forming a spreading crown. At the flowering period, the inflorescence stalk (*Thor*—used as vegetable) grows up from the rhizome to the hollow tube formed by the sheaths, emerges above and bears a large number of inconspicuous tubular flowers closely crowded in the axils of larger often brightly coloured protecting bracts.

When a sufficient bunch of fruit has set, the pendant extremity of the inflorescence (*Mocha*—used as vegetable) with its remaining flowers and conspicuous

2. Hunter, *Encyclopaedia Sc. Agri.* (1931), p. 150.

3. Sir P. Khareghat, *Indian Farming*, Special No. (1946), p. 101.

4. Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India* (1907) pp. 789, 790.

bracts, should be cut away, so that all the available nourishment may go to the formation of fruit.

The occurrence of more than one inflorescence, one each from the axil of all the leaves, has been recorded.

METHODS OF PROPAGATION—TECHNIQUE TO IMPROVE

With the ripening of the infructescence or 'bunch,' the stem bearing it is cut back, and growth is continued by lateral offshoots, or suckers, from the rhizome. The life of the individual plant is thus indefinite. There should not be more than three suckers at the base, so the excess suckers are removed and new plantations are established by the removal and planting elsewhere of these suckers in June or July.

Due to vegetative propagation for a long time, seed formation is gradually turning to be of rare occurrence due to use and non-use of methods and means. But occasionally one comes across a few seeds in an edible fruit, and some seeds may grow if sown. In some cases colchicine treatment has given some effective result in quality, size, and number of fruits in a bunch.

DESCRIPTION OF SOIL

Here in Bengal banana can be grown anywhere, the rainfall being highest, as also it is a lover of warm, moist climate. Except where the sub-soil is hard rock or stiff clay and the soil is heavy it can be grown on almost all soils, subject to a liberal supply of water and sunshine, suitably close to a tank, ditch, *ghil*, canal or a river.

Well and canal irrigation is effected by flooding the soil, and after the water has soaked in for a day, the superfluous water is run off through drains. The land is then hoed once a month. Humidity being maintained by mulching. "It is well worth while losing a year to get the soil into condition," observed T. A. C. Firminger.⁵ He continued: "Soil operation should be begun any time before rains—let us say in January of the present year. Soil deeply ploughed and left to the action of the elements. Then just as the rain break, *San hemp (crotonia jucea)* at the rate of 40 lbs. of seed per acre, is sown. This will come up vigorously with the rains. After six weeks it is cut down and ploughed *in situ*, let it rot well to harrow again. At the end of the rains pits are dug for the fruit trees and between them a crop of deep-rooted legume is given to break up the sub-soil—a short season groundnut, such as small Japanese, is admirable. The nuts are harvested and the roots, stem, etc., are returned to the sub-soil."

PLAN OF PLANTING

Banana and plantain cultivation is based on two different foundations. One is for home consumption and the other for export. The former forms a part of the village kitchen garden and the latter forms the big plantations.

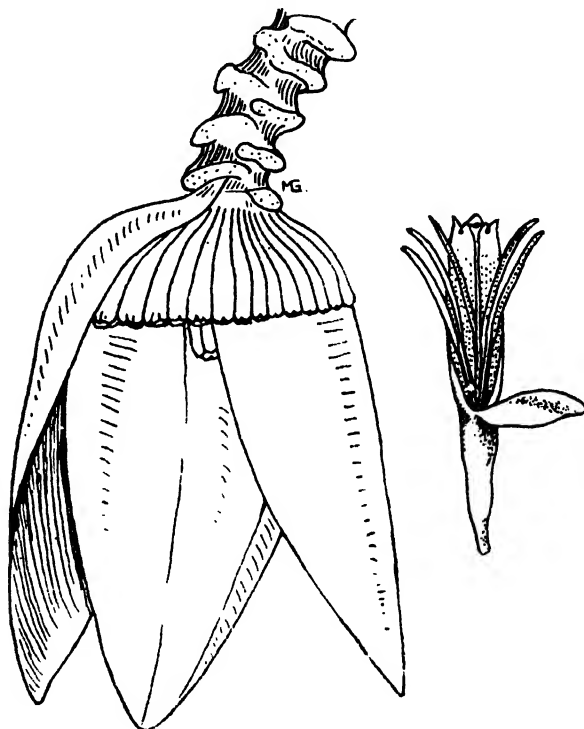
The site for plantation should be as near a city and a railway station as possible, otherwise it will suffer greatly for transport difficulties.

The approximate cost of cultivating one acre has been estimated at Rs. 225 as detailed below:

(1) Cost of 350 plants	Rs. 45
(2) Cost of planting in the pit	Rs. 35
(3) Cost of ploughing, etc.	Rs. 20
(4) Cost of manure, etc.	Rs. 125

Total Rs. 225

Apart from the cost of cultivation, cost of maintenance, supervision and fencing is also incurred, which are not detailed, as also the profit which may be obtained from the secondary crop cultivated in between the planting and fruiting time, as well as the price obtained from fibres extracted.



1. The end of the inflorescence (*mocha*), showing the cluster of flowers with the showy bracts
2. One solitary flower showing the 'perigonium' and the 'scale,' on the rim of the inferior ovary. The five developed stamens as well as the style with single stigma can be seen

Annually from one acre more than 300 bunches of fruit may be obtained in the first year which is doubled in the next succeeding years, the average market price being Rs. 2 for each bunch.

TIME FOR PLANTING SEEDLINGS

One year after the start of soil operation pits are made at about 12 ft. apart within fields of standing *aus* paddy, arum, brinjal, turmeric, or ginger, if not nuts already mentioned; and suckers preferably

⁵ T. A. C. Firminger, *A Manual of Gardening for Bengal and Upper India* (1890), p. 175.

maiden suckers, i.e., suckers about eight months old, with adult foliage as opposed to *sword suckers*, which are younger with narrow leaves, planted. Transplanting is usually made in the rainy season as already said. The pits should be about a cubit deep and manured. After harvesting the secondary crop the land should be ploughed twice or thrice. The plantation begins to bear fruit within a year and the ground is then usually devoted to the banana crop alone.

FERTILIZERS AND MANURES USED IN DIFFERENT AGES

We are one with 'Firminger', when he says: "The number of fruits per tree is greatly increased with good manuring and cultivation, and is decreased by neglect." Also his scheme of manuring: "The banana is a gross feeder and needs liberal manuring, best given in three doses, one month, two months and three months after planting. Castor cake 10 lbs. + fish 15 lbs. per plant is an excellent manure. Castor cake 4 lbs., sulphate of ammonia 1 lb., sulphate of potash $\frac{4}{5}$ lb. and calcium superphosphate $\frac{1}{2}$ lb., has proved useful."

Woodrow⁶ sounds a cautious note: "Oilcake, which is too strong a manure for most plants, is excellent for banana. It should be broken small and dug in near the roots."

Compost is also an excellent manure for the banana; but if it is not procurable, fresh nightsoil may be used. Green manuring is desirable once a year and the soil must be kept well-hoed.

"When planting in the pit, for each plant 15 lbs. of F.Y.M., 5 lbs. bone-meal, and 7 lbs. wood-ash may be used, decreasing them as 5 lbs. F.Y.M., bone-meal 5 oz. and 1 lb. wood-ash per plant next year. Manures should be used before the rains in the irrigation beds and mixed well with the earth. If soils lack in lime, 8 oz. slaked lime may be used per plant per annum, with the manure. This is, of course, merely a simple scheme of manuring for general fruit cultivation."—*Firminger*.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FLOWER

"*Musa sapientum* Linn. (*M. paradisiaca* Linn.) is trimerous in its floral organs. In a normal flower the inferior ovary carries on it the irregular perianth in two parts, one called the *perigonium* representing five perianth lobes, and the *scale* representing the sixth. Besides the five stamens which are found usually, the sixth rudimentary or fully developed one has been very often met with. Of the gynoecium, the ovary is three-carpelled and syncarpous, style single and stigma also single with undulating surface (in unusual cases, the number of styles is three)." Transitional stages are also found.

FRUITING TIME

There is a great variation in fruiting time among the different varieties of banana. The minimum time

taken in one variety is 6 months, the maximum being 14 months in another variety. However in most cases the first crop comes in 10-12 months from planting, and is poorer than any succeeding crop. Succeeding crops in well-treated plantations should come on every five months and be twice the weight of the first crop.

To induce banana to bear fruit in a particular direction, the first leaf of each shoot should be placed in the direction of the plot desired to bear fruit.

When the bunch is fully grown and ripe, it is severed and is hung up in a dark cool place to ripen, and the plant is cut back to give space for the new suckers to develop.

NUMBER OF FRUITS IN A PLANT

It has been already said that the number of fruits in a bunch depends much on soil condition and manuring. However, it varies also among the different varieties, the minimum is 50 in a bunch, the maximum being 200 approximately.

THE FRUIT AND ITS EDIBLE PART

As in some other cultivated plants, major varieties of banana, produce 'seedless fruits', the walls of the ovaries developing extensively apart from any seed production.

The banana fruit is a berry. The edible part consists of the highly developed ovarian walls and placentae, the skin being formed from the thalamus and outer layer of the ovarian wall.

FOOD VALUE OF THE FLESH OF THE FRUIT

A comparative chart (adapted from Datta⁸) of the food value of banana and the most important fruit of India—mango—is given below:

	Banana	Mango
Protein	0.1	0.15
Fat	0.1	0.77
Starch	7.9	18.2
Vitamin A	+	++
Vitamin B	+	—
Vitamin C	+	+++
Vitamin D	+	—
Vitamin E	++	—
Ca	+	—
Fe	+	+
PO ₄	++	—

— indicates either nil or not ascertained.

+

++ indicates the presence of a good quantity.

+++ indicates the presence of a very good quantity.

+++ indicates the presence of rich contents.

DISEASE AND PEST—THEIR CONTROL

In the East serious loss is caused by a disease, which passes under the name of 'bunchy top'; it was originally supposed to be associated with the attacks of the nematode *Heterodora radiculicola* gref. This supposition is reviewed by scientists, and work done by several others indicates that the disease falls into the group of Virus Diseases not directly transmissible. In this case the agent of transmission is the Aphis *Pentalonia nigronervosa* coql., and they definitely conclude that there is no association between the disease and the nematodes.

6. Woodrow, *Gardening in India* (1903), p. 483.

7. Chandrasekharen and Sunderaraj, *Current Science*, Vol. 16, p. 1, pp. 80-81.

American farmers, the power being used to operate agricultural as well as household equipment.

A new development in the cooking line is the electric roaster in which the ingredients of a complete dinner can be cooked simultaneously in separate earthenware dishes. A "window" enables the housewife to watch the progress of the cooking inside the roaster. Quick freezers will keep food both cooked and raw in good condition for longer periods. This enables the housewife to have a wider variety of food on hand as well as to shop less often, buying larger quantities at a time.

Lamps have hitherto had one purpose—to light the home. New types have extended their usefulness. Special infra-red lamps, for example, provide a rapid source of heat which can be used for drying the hair or for other supplementary "comfort" heating in the home.

Ultra-violet lamps provide a valuable germ-destruction agency for the home. Natural air currents caused by the heat of the lamp lift the bacteria into the range of the lamp's rays where they are

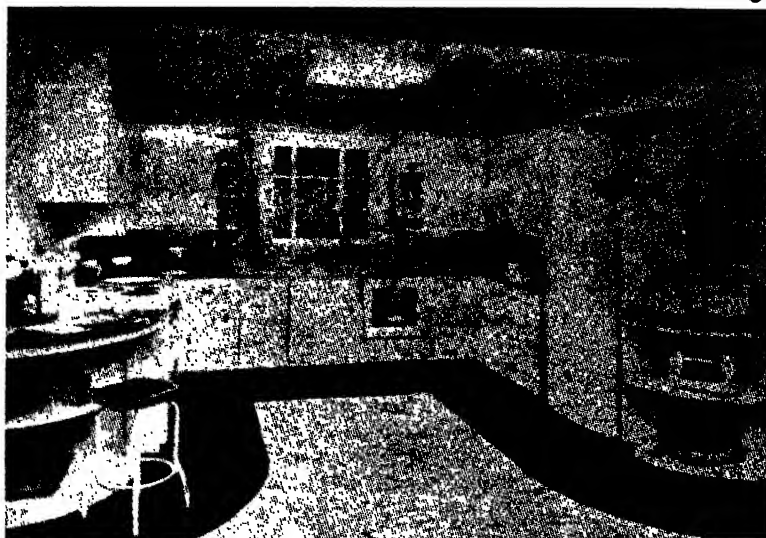


Side by side and similar in size and shape, the automatic washing machine and the automatic clothes drier complete their work in almost the same time

More amazing are the new electrical gadgets and machines for the household; automatic washing machines wash, rinse and damp-dry clothes in half an hour, untouched by a housewife's hand; and automatic-dryer tumbles clothes in warm forced air until they are completely dry; miniature washers wash and spin-dry a small quantity of clothes; some of the washers can be used for dishes as well as for clothes.

A new automatic dish-washer reduces the numerous operations required to operate pre-war models to two—placing the dish in the machine and turning the switch. The machine sprays the dishes, washes them, rinses them twice; cleans and drains automatically and shuts itself off.

One chore the elimination of which will be welcomed by all housewives is the disposal of garbage. This work has been taken over by an electrical machine in the form of a sink attachment. It grinds the refuse of cooking—including bones—so fine that it can be washed down the sinks.



In this carefully planned modern kitchen three work-centres are arranged: on the right the refrigeration and preparation centre, in the middle the sink and dish-washing centre and on the left the electric stove and serving centre

destroyed. These lamps are shielded so that the direct rays do not strike the eyes of the occupants of the

room. Another version of the same lamp provides a sunbath three times faster than a midsummer sun and is invaluable in the winter.

Soft indirect lighting with florescent lamps is now within the reach of the average householder. Besides providing a cheaper source of light it helps reduce

eye-strain by its even and shadowless illumination.

Cold feet in the winter will be a thing of the past with a new type of electrically heated blanket which keeps the temperature even the whole night through. Normal house current supplies a heating unit woven inside the blanket.—*USIS*.

—:O:—

END OF AN EPOCH

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) London

THE passing away of Gandhiji, like that of Lord Krishna, marks in a very proper sense, the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. He personified not only the inner spiritual urges and sufferings of India but the struggle of humanity against forces of evil. In an atomic age when the shadow of extinction hangs upon the world, men turned to him with hope. He stood on the crossing of ways, pointing towards the way of love, blessings and hope and the way of salvation. He was a force more volcanic than any weapon invented by man. His frail-looking form had an energy hardly witnessed on this planet before. Every time that he undertook a long-term or indefinite fast, and the sceptics shook their heads and thought it was the end, he came through with speed. His range of interests varying from politics to dietetics were, however, all integrated and revolved round the basic principles of truth and non-violence. Long after his achievements in the political and social field have been forgotten he will be remembered as the apostle of truth and love, a saint in the line of succession of Buddha, Christ and Ramakrishna, a spiritual giant whose message would spread far beyond the limits of the land in which he lived.

We who stand so near in time to him may be forgiven if we judge him from the immediate point of view, from the point of view of his struggles in the cause of Indian freedom, his championship of the low and the downtrodden, his efforts to bridge the gulf between communities, for which indeed he laid down his life, his lifting of the political into the moral plane, his support of mass-literacy and of women's movement, indeed a myriad things with which he was connected. His personality was as various as that of Lord Krishna and he stands to us in the same way as Shri Krishna must have stood to his generation, a sagacious *rajniti*, a philosopher and fighter for just cause, a man gifted with spiritual wisdom and miraculous powers.

In the political field, Gandhiji's contribution lay in this that he carried on the message of Swaraj to every nook and corner of this vast land. In that sense he completed the work of Tilak, who for the first time after the War of Independence of 1857, awakened the masses with his call for Swaraj. He came to India after his struggle in South Africa and as such he came with

a certain prestige. He immediately turned his attention to the poverty-stricken masses of his country and made the fateful decision to devote his life to their cause. On foot, in bullock-cart and in train, he traversed this vast land and made the humblest and the lowliest conscious of his birth-right, Swaraj. He looked straight into their eyes, and in his eyes the dumb millions saw deep love for them and in him they recognized as one of their own who would lift them out of the slumber of centuries. He identified himself so completely with their inner urges and struggles that he in turn became the pulse with which to judge the temper and thought of the Indian people. Before him politics had remained the occupation of individuals and a section of the middle classes. With him, the vast millions of India were moved to a noble struggle and height of emotion which they had not experienced for a thousand years. He made them not only politically conscious, but made them participate in political movement and thus completed the task of the political awakening of the country.

Next in importance, though not to him, I should like to place his efforts for the upliftment of those whom he called Harijans (people of God) and who were generally known as depressed classes. Such was the intensity of his passion for them that, when the Bihar earthquake occurred way back in the thirties, he did not hesitate to call it as a just vengeance of God for our sin of untouchability. His strong language was only an expression of his deep love of the Harijans and his sense of indignation at the way they had been treated by us through centuries. His advocacy was more powerful than the breeze of modernism which was blowing slowly across this country; no amount of modern education or the influence of leveling agents, such as the railway and the restaurant, could have achieved one-hundredth of what Gandhiji's open advocacy and appeal did. Again and again he turned the spotlight on the Harijans, even undertaking indefinite fasts to focus attention on their wrongs.

Indeed he lived with them as one of them and removed the stigma attaching to them once for all. In doing that, he taught us the dignity of labour as no theorising would have done. If we are to survive as a nation and if our existence is to have any significance,

we must proceed forthwith to put into practice Gandhiji's precepts and ideals.

Another revolutionary change brought about by him in this slumbering continent was his interest in women's emancipation. He unlocked the gates to women and welcomed them into political and social work. In the 1930 movement hundreds of thousands of women marched alongside of men and for the first time after a thousand years, women began to go about freely standing shoulder to shoulder with men. This was perhaps an accidental result of the nation-wide mass movements introduced by Gandhiji, but its significance in the building up of modern India cannot be under-rated. Nearly a half of the Indian humanity found their prison walls shattered and they emerged into the open air of freedom under Gandhiji's blessings. Not only in the political field, but also in the social, Gandhiji's inspiration and welcome, brought women into useful human contact with men. He imbued them with a spirit of service, with which indeed he imbued all with whom he came into contact.

No less important for India was Gandhiji's economic programme and his cult of the *charkha*. While some laughed at his old-fangled notions and others doubted the efficacy of his weapons, he went ahead with the *charkha* and spread the cult of Khaddar throughout the land. During the thirties, the *charkha* had nearly beaten the British and the wheels of Paisley and Manchester had come to a standstill. Its efficacy as a political weapon stood clearly demonstrated but more than that its significance in providing employment to millions of unemployed and idle people of this country and lifting their standard of living was extraordinary. Shorn of its moral and emotional penumbra,

the cult of the *charkha* will be found to be a highly efficacious economic measure and a political weapon in the context of the times. With Gandhiji the *charkha* was an article of faith, a symbol at once of the dignity of labour and of moral regeneration.

Gandhiji's achievements in spreading literacy amongst the masses and in basic education were of no mean order. Indeed his personality overcame almost super-human obstacles, which were none other than the inertia of the masses and a decadent spirit of helplessness. It is impossible to conceive of any single individual who with his magic personality had achieved so much, whose efforts were nothing short of Herculean and of such startling success.

To my mind the other most outstanding achievement of Gandhiji was the training of a band of selfless workers and inspiring them with devotion and discipline, in the service of India. Our outstanding leaders are in a sense the creation of Gandhiji. This is not to deny their originality, genius, innate spirit of self-sacrifice and their capacity for leadership. They are great in their own right. But the moulding of their character and of their destiny was done by Gandhiji. He was a real *Guru* who seemed to have walked out of a Vedic Ashrama, instructing and inspiring his pupils. India is fortunate to have them, and so long as the reins of Government lie in their hands, we may feel reassured.

I have written at random and selected for my purpose only such aspects of Gandhiji's achievements which have appeared to me more significant than others. I have in no way intended to give an appreciation of his life's works. But even from this small outline it will be seen that Gandhiji's death has left "an aching void the world can never fill."

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GANDHI AND THOREAU

The view is prevalent, particularly in the U. S., that Mahatma Gandhi derived his idea of Civil Disobedience from the writings of Thoreau. In reply to an enquiry, the Mahatma wrote the following letter, dated the 10th September, 1935, to Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, of the Servants of India Society, who was then in America.

Wardha,
10th September, '35.

Dear Kodanda Rao,

The statement in that I had derived my idea of Civil Disobedience from the writings of Thoreau is wrong. The resistance to authority in South Africa

was well advanced before I got the essay of Thoreau on Civil Disobedience. But the movement was then known as Passive Resistance. As it was incomplete I had coined the word Satyagraha for the Gujarathi readers. When I saw the title of Thoreau's great essay, I began the use of his phrase to explain our struggle to the English readers. But I found that even 'Civil Disobedience' failed to convey the full meaning of the struggle. I, therefore, adopted the phrase Civil Resistance. Non-violence was always an integral part of our struggle.

As per your advice, a copy is going to Mr. Pearson. I hope you have done well. Mahadev is in Bombay just now.

Sjt. Kodanda Rao.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi

STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DESTITUTE RELIEF

Fulfilment of "Cradle-To-Grave" Act

By ROBERT MACKAY

By a new measure—the National Assistance Bill—now being passed through Britain's Parliament, the care of the old, the infirm, and the destitute will be a direct responsibility of the State.

In a period which the prolonged effect of six years of war still justifies us in calling the "post-war period", Britain's chief effort is in the economic field; it is a national effort for rebuilding national prosperity—an effort that demands both sacrifice and concentration. Characteristically enough, however, the work of social reform goes steadily forward, and the National Assistance Bill is the latest example of this.

Of the various social measures introduced since World War II ended, the National Insurance Act—the Cradle-to-Grave Act, as it was called—may rightly be considered the most important because of its wide scope. It banished the spectre of want. The establishment or extension of pensions covering old age, sickness and unemployment, and the introduction of maternity benefits, made this measure one of the most comprehensive forms of State insurance imaginable.

The Act codified, so to speak, existing schemes, and at the same time enlarged their range so that only the contingencies now covered by the National Assistance Bill remained to be provided for. Thus the present Bill may be said to be the legislative completion of the main structure of Britain's new social service schemes that are due to come fully into operation on July 5, 1948.

SCOPE OF BILL

Some idea of the scope of the new Bill can be gathered from the fact that children deprived of parental care, patients suffering from tuberculosis, mental cases, and registered blind persons will all come under the direct care and responsibility of the Minister of National Insurance, instead of under a miscellany of local authorities.

The fundamental object of the new Bill is (in the words of an explanatory White Paper) "to achieve the final break-up of the Poor Law and to create entirely new services founded on modern conceptions of social welfare." The Bill, when it becomes law, will, like the National Insurance Act, be very largely a codification of measures already existing for the relief of destitution. Hitherto, such relief has been the direct social and financial responsibility of local authorities. The State now takes over that responsibility, using local authorities as its agents. The latter have always been powerfully aided in their relief work by voluntary

welfare societies, and this assistance is not likely to cease merely because the system will henceforth be a centralised one.

It is pertinent to observe that the various State schemes of relief for the aged, the destitute, the sick, and the unemployed, which began in 1908, have resulted in a progressive decline in calls for assistance from local welfare authorities. For instance, since October, 1946, the payment of pensions on the scale provided in the National Insurance Act has reduced the number of people applying to local authorities for financial aid from 1,500,000 to 500,000.

Thus, the role of the local authorities as regards such aid, having in effect become restricted to dealing with cases imperfectly provided for under the State schemes, it was logical that local public assistance should end by being nationalised in the sense of being made uniform under centralised direction and of being financed by the State. In a word, the State now accepts on behalf of the people the responsibility for preventing any citizen from falling voluntarily below a minimum subsistence standard of living.

SHAKESPEARE'S DAYS

The fact that the new Bill is described in the explanatory White Paper as "finally breaking up the Poor Law" is historically interesting, but may be unintentionally misleading.

The law referred to has long since been obsolescent in practice, although it only becomes legally obsolete now. It dates back to the days of Shakespeare (it was passed in 1601) and has never been formally revoked. But only vestigial traces of it survive; as, for instance, in the term "workhouse", still in common use among the poor, to designate what has for many years now been a relief institution to which the original stigma of vagrancy no longer attached.

Poor relief in England was part of the feudal system and broke down with it; and a law of 1536 was designed, like the law of 1601, to fill the vacuum by requiring local authorities to "set and keep vagabonds and beggars at continual labour." The official approach to the matter of poor relief in the following centuries was halting and even heartless, and it was not until 1834 that the Poor Law Amendment Act established a reasonable system of poor relief. But the taint of being poor remained.

The important psychological effect of the new Bill now before Parliament is that it abolishes that taint. The "workhouse," long since a misnomer in poor-relief administration, will finally disappear from the popular

vocabulary, existing relief institutions being replaced by Homes in which the old and infirm will really be "paying guests", since they will be contributing towards the cost of their accommodation out of the pensions to which they are by law entitled under the National Insurance Act.

HUMANE METHOD

Hundreds of thousands of old and infirm people, of course, will continue to be cared for by their own families. But there are possibly as many as 500,000 of the old and infirm who, for one reason or another, are alone in the world, and it is an outstanding feature of the new Bill that it officially establishes a humane method of meeting their needs. Sympathetic understanding, so to speak, becomes an official injunction.

A Survey carried out last year for the Nuffield Foundation by the Rowntree Committee on "the Problems of Ageing and the Care of Old People" showed that there is "no longer acute poverty among the aged" to the extent that existed formerly. This is one of the beneficial effects of the recent social legislation. But the tragedy of loneliness persists for thousands of old people, who, although living alone, are not really fit to do so, and would be far happier sharing the life of a small community rather than being

housed in the large institutions which are their only alternative to living alone.

The provision of such small community homes for the old and infirm is one of the needs that the new Bill is intended to supply. The new services and the homes to be provided under the National Assistance Bill will make heavy demands on finance and on building material and labour, so that it may be some years before the projects can materialise. But there is universal approval for a measure which will place the whole system of relief and welfare on a footing of national co-ordination.

The Rowntree Report showed that income from charitable endowments for the care of the aged amounts to £5,000,000 a year, and since the State, even with the most enlightened legislation, can hardly do more than provide a minimum of guaranteed relief for the aged, the destitute, and the unfortunate, there will always be scope for voluntary service in supplementing that minimum by providing the amenities. But such service is a national tradition, and experience has proved that the considerably extended social services provided by the State since the beginning of this century have done nothing to weaken that tradition.

PRODUCTION TRENDS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

By KANTILAL L. DALAL, B.com. (Bom.), B.Sc. (Econ.) London

THIS article attempts to examine the production trends facing our country in the post-war period in perspective of the production trends during the war as well as the similar production trends in foreign countries for which published data are available.

One of the basic facts to be taken into account in understanding the production trends in this country as well as other countries, is that the production trends do not reveal a common pattern for all the countries during and after the war of 1939-45. It is, no doubt, true that all the countries have aimed to maximise their war potential during the war, and their total output of consumption and capital goods after the war. But this is only a truism. The intensity, the urgency of the economic situation and the relative emphasis on the direction and uses of the productive resources have, however, varied in different countries during the war and post-war period.

For the analysis of the production trends the countries (excluding Germany, Italy, Japan and their satellites) can be divided broadly in three groups:

(1) The countries whose economies contributed most to the war effort, and whose production was directly influenced by the war effort. In this group are United States, United Kingdom and Canada.

(2) The occupied countries of Europe and Asia whose economies were under the conflicting forces of occupying powers and the patriotic movements opposed to them. Holland, Belgium, Norway, France and Poland in Europe and China and Burma in Asia are the typical examples of this group.

(3) The neutral countries and those whose economies were remotely and indirectly influenced by the war and post-war developments in the chief belligerent powers. Switzerland, Sweden and Mexico are the characteristic countries of this group.

Russia and India cannot be classified in any of the three groups on the basis of their productive trends during the war and the post-war period. The Russian production trends are not easily accessible but it can be imagined that they show mixed patterns characteristic of the occupied countries of Europe and Asia and the Western Powers with whom Russia made a major contribution to the combined war effort. Although India, too, played an important part in the war production effort and was described as the "arsenal of democracy" in the Eastern theatre of war, the production in India during the war did not undergo the spectacular increase which marked the production trends in United States, United Kingdom and Canada.

TABLE I*

Year	Group I		Group 2. 1937 : 100							Group 3.		India	
	U. S. '37: 100	Canada '37: 100	U. K. '38: 100	Belgium.	Denmark.	Finland	Hol- land.	Norway.	Poland.	Sweden.	Ire- land.	1939:	100
					Nat. In. Index.								
1938	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—
1939	96	101	108	86	107	—	112	106	—	103	102	39-40	114.0
1940	111	121	128	—	86	—	104	94	—	94	102	40-41	117.3
1941	143	146	149	—	82	62	89	94	—	87	94	41-42	122.7
1942	176	172	164	—	86	55	72	83	—	90	77	42-43	108.8
1943	212	184	175	—	88	56	65	81	—	91	79	43-44	109.2
1944	208	184	179	—	87	52	43	76	—	91	83	44-45	120.7
1945	180	163	178	31	74	52	31	69	45	88	93	45-46	127.5
1946	151	147	172	72	96	70	74	100	91	107	107	46-47	115.4
Average 2nd quarter 1947	164	163	—	86	100	—	90	108	113	108	109	—	105.3

Table I shows the indices of production for a number of countries falling in all the three categories mentioned, as well as India. For U. K. the index number of national income is constructed from national income statistics as the index number of production is not available, to indicate the broad changes in productive activity.

In Group I countries production expanded as war mobilisation proceeded. The general level of production in 1943—the peak of war mobilisation—was 221% and 182% of that in 1939 in U. S. and Canada respectively. The national income of U. K. at 1938 prices, was, in 1944, 166% of that in 1939. The indices of production in the Group II countries show a precipitate decline following their occupation by the enemy powers. In the Group III countries the production was rather stagnant, at a level lower than the one in 1939. Industrial production in India does not reveal any basic dynamics characteristic of the three different groups of countries. The *Capital* index number of industrial production shows that it was 112% of 1939 in 1945-46 after having reached 108% of 1939 in 1941-42 and again declining in 1942-43 and 1943-44. There was, clearly, no overall industrial mobilisation for war effort. There are further indications of conflicting influences operating on the production level. On the one hand, under the pressure of war contracts, scarcities of consumers' goods, higher prices etc., the existing industrial capacity was being exploited to the full, while on the other hand, the expansion of the basic production potential was neglected because of a number of causes of which political framework was an important one.

The production trends for the period beginning from the end of hostilities in the August of 1945 show striking contrasts for all the countries in the different groups.

In the Group I countries, two important developments are visible in the post-war production trends. The general level of production declined up to the beginning and middle of 1946, but it had again

resumed its upward trend by the end of 1946. The average production for 1946 was 71% and 80% of that in 1943 for U. S. and Canada respectively. Towards the middle of 1947, the production had recovered to 77% and 88% of that in 1943 and was steadily rising. The national income of U. K. in 1946 was 95% of that in 1944 and although no figures are as yet available for its movements in 1947, the figures for exports, and coal and iron and steel production show an upward trend in production as compared to the latter half of 1945.

These movements in the level of production can easily be understood. The process of reconversion from war to peace-time production, the mushroom growth of labour disputes and shortages of certain key raw materials pulled down the level of production soon after the end of hostilities. The process of reconversion and shortages of raw materials creating bottlenecks in production were inherent in the situation in which the whole productive economy which had been feverishly working during the war with the aid of patriotic appeals for longer hours of work, restriction on consumers' goods, and greatest efforts on the part of all concerned, found itself freed from these non-ppecuniary incentives as well as from the demands of war products and services no more needed in peace. The labour disputes, although not inherent, were unavoidable. Labour was the one single scare factor which considerably improved its real income position in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada during the war. Now in the post-war situation of decreasing total earnings and increasing inflationary prices it tried to make the most of its scarcity value to consolidate as well as increase its war-time gains. However, with the reconversion process well under way, the bottlenecks were disappearing and the labour disputes were getting settled. The production level again rose in view of the pressure of the pent-up demand of the consumers who were starved of necessary goods during the war and also due to the overall Government policies of maintaining the economy at a high level of activity and ensuring a gradual increase in the standard of living of the people. The disruption of foreign trade of most

* Sources : Monthly Bulletin of Statistics (U. N.) October, 1947.
December 18th, 1947.

of the countries prevented the gradual return of the production pattern to that of the pre-war period.

In the countries under the Group II the production has gradually increased from the level of July-August 1945 when the hostilities ended. There have, no doubt, been strikes and lock-outs, shortages of capital goods, problems of reconversion and re-equipment and political instability but they have not brought the production level to a standstill but only slowed down its rise. In July, 1945, the production was 33%, 61% and 43% of 1939 in Belgium, Denmark and Norway respectively. It was 28% of 1939 in August 1945 for Holland and 60% and 43% of 1938 for France in January 1946 and for Poland in July 1945 respectively. In Finland it was 58% of 1938 in September 1945. In the middle of 1947, however, the production was running at the rate of 100%, 93%, 80% and 110% of 1939 for Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Norway respectively. It was 97%, 112% and 87% of 1938 for France, Poland and Finland respectively for the same period.

Production level for countries in Group III also rose from that during the war and at the end of hostilities in 1945. For Sweden it rose from 85% of 1939 in 1945 to 105% of 1939 in the second quarter of 1947. For Mexico the production indices show a fairly continuous increase throughout the war and post-war period reaching a record level of 131% of 1939 in the middle of 1947.

Production trends in India in the post-war period have no parallel with any of the three groups of countries examined above. The *Capital* general production index number shows an uneven, slow but steady decline in the overall production situation. Production levels in all the major industries more or less maintained their war-time heights up to the end of 1945. It began to decline from the end of 1945 and the decline has remained unrelieved up to now except for some temporary increases in early 1947 and certain fitful movements in individual industries throughout the post-war period.

The gravity of the post-war production trends in India lies not merely in the decline of production after the hostilities although this poor country could ill afford it. Production levels had declined in all those countries where production was feverishly geared to the total war effort, i.e., in U. S. A., Canada and United Kingdom. The gravity of "crisis" consists in the fact, that the decline in the production has not reversed itself as in the case of group I countries, following the readjustments of all the factors concerned. This raises the suspicious question as to whether there are special influences affecting the production levels in India, other than those which produced the decline in Group I countries, namely, labour unrest, shortages of raw materials, reconstruction and re-equipment difficulties.

The other factor contributing to the "crisis" is the fact that the decline has come about at the very

time when expectations were entertained for a planned and a steep rise in the productive activities. The preparation and discussion of economic plans and the hope of their implementation at the end of the war and the dawn of political freedom heightened the contrasts between expectations and reality. It is also interesting to observe that production level has decreased in India although we have had no problem of reconversion of a magnitude comparable to that in the Group I countries.

It is not intended to discuss in details the various factors which have entailed the decline in production and the remedies suggested. The more obvious and the more important of them have been well analysed and discussed in the recent tripartite Industrial Conferences in New Delhi. It would, however, be worthwhile to mention a number of special factors which have distinguished the production trends in India from that of the other countries.

(A) All countries depend on import of essential materials for the healthy working of its industrial production. But India depends for a very large number of basic industrial equipments on a relatively small number of countries exporting them, so that any dislocation in the countries concerned creates sudden and deep-rooted bottlenecks which cannot be easily remedied.

(B) In the short run the increase in production could only be achieved by a fuller use of productive capacity or in other words by making the actual production very nearly equal to the capacity production, for, the productive capacity being dependent on certain key imports cannot be quickly expanded. The following figures show the capacity output, production and demand of some of the key industries for 1947 :—

	In Tons	Capacity	Production	Demand
Steel	1,264,000	875,000	over 2 millions	
Cement	2,076,000	1 344,000	3,000,000	
Paper	110,000	86,000	—	

The industries in their efforts for fuller utilisation of productive capacity are likely to encounter increasing cost of production, if there is to be a considerable rise in the output. The increasing prices which this would necessitate has to be anxiously considered in view of the dangers of the inflationary tendencies.

(C) The decline in production or shortages are more marked and keenly felt in the supplies of daily necessities relative to the luxuries and comforts of life and in case of producers' goods relative to the consumers' goods industries. In this respect there is a parallel between India and the countries in Group I and Group II, for the inflationary pressure in all these countries by making relatively less important things more profitable to produce tends to distort the economic structure as this results in diverting resources away from the production of things claiming priorities from the national point of view.

(D) At present there is a confusing as well as tragic paradox of idle resources side by side with labour shortages of almost all kinds of labour. This paradox has to be resolved in the interests of increasing production and can be resolved only if "investments" are made in labour equal to if not more than planned investments in capital goods, land improvements and agriculture. This is not a labour

appeasement policy. The social and economic productivity of the idle as well as the marginal labour resources is very low. Improvements in the quality of the idle, the marginal as well as the employed labour resources would break the shortages of skilled and unskilled labour which has been the important factor contributing to the adoption of the faulty labour policies to gain temporary advantages.

THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY Bengal Branch

By G. F. MUIRHEAD,

Hon'y. Director, I. R. C. S., Bengal Provincial Branch

THE idea of the Red Cross Society originated with a Swiss gentleman, Mr. Henry Dunant in 1859 who was appalled by the lack of medical attention for soldiers wounded in battle. He succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of diplomatists in various countries and a Conference was held in Switzerland in 1863 as a result of which the famous Geneva Convention was signed in 1864, which recognised the principle of neutrality of the wounded in wartime. From that time the Red Cross Society worked unceasingly for the sufferings of the wounded and the prisoners of war until it came finally to be recognised that this vast organisation had also a very urgent task to do in peacetime as well; and finally in 1919 it was officially laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations that

"The members of the League (of Nations) agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised National Red Cross Societies, having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

And a League of Red Cross Societies was formed which now includes in its membership some 65 National Red Cross Societies.

The Symbol of the Red Cross on the Red Cross Flag has no sectarian significance, and it was adopted merely as a recognition of the great part played by the Swiss in the formation of the organisation, and is simply the reverse of the Swiss National Flag which is a White Cross on a Red Ground.

The Bengal Red Cross Society is affiliated to the Indian Red Cross Society whose head office is in Delhi, and which is in turn affiliated to the International Red Cross at Geneva. In 1945, with the active help and co-operation of our President, the Right Hon'ble R. G. Casey, the then Governor of Bengal, a large Civilian Expansion Scheme was embarked on in Bengal. The Society's activities are numerous and widespread but the following is a short description of the work which is being done.

The Bengal Red Cross has for some time been training Indian girls as Health Visitors through the St. John Anderson Health School in Calcutta, and has also sent 2 girls to England for further specialised training so that they can return to Bengal to train others in their turn. Grants are made annually to Maternity and Child Welfare Clinics throughout the Province, and inspections made to ensure a proper standard for those Institutions. In addition the Society is planning to build out of its own funds and from those raised in the Districts, Model Maternity Centres where the health of mothers and children can be cared for, and where these mothers can learn the principles of health, and where training will be given to indigenous Dais. Owing to the very disturbed state of the province over the past year it has not been possible to go ahead with our plans as quickly as we would have liked but during the next few months we will attempt to push ahead.

Another part of our programme which is well known, is the running of Free Milk Canteens for children. These canteens were started at the time of the Bengal Famine, and since then the Government of Bengal have purchased large quantities of dried milk from abroad which is distributed daily by the paid and voluntary workers of the Society of whom the latter numbers some 10,000 throughout East and West Bengal. Through this scheme over two lakhs of children receive a *powa* of milk free every day of the year, and in this way the Society is trying to do something towards improving the standard of health of the children of Bengal. These canteens are running not only in Calcutta and in the larger towns but are operating as well in the remotest villages of the province, and altogether there are about 2,000 of such canteens offering daily free feeds. As an adjunct to this work the Society is responsible for organising free-midday tiffin for school children in the districts, for the health of the school children must not be overlooked. And for these school children also there is the Junior Red Cross which organise them into groups to teach them the principles of health and hygiene and good citizenship.

Then there is the work in Civilian Hospitals. Supplies are issued to Hospitals all over Bengal and Hospital Welfare Service is being organised to provide these comforts which means so much to patients. The Welfare workers write letters to relatives, do personal shopping, provide reading materials and generally act as a guide, philosopher and friend. A start has also been made on Diversional Therapy Work.

And alongside all this constructive work goes the task of giving relief in emergencies. Unfortunately they have been far too frequent during the past months. From the time of the August 1946 riots until just after Independence Day the Red Cross workers and volunteers have been constantly in action. Their aim has been to give succour to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion and even at the time when communal feelings were at their highest our Ambulance drivers and workers never ceased their duty even when it meant going into areas predominantly inhabited by those of a community other than their own. During the Noakhali riots the Society sent supplies and workers, and after the initial emergency was over a rehabilitation camp was opened in Noakhali District where Hindus, Muslims and Christians worked side by side and where an effective piece of rehabilitation work was carried out. The Red Cross Camp was in close touch with Mahatma Gandhiji during this time and our workers were happy to know that their endeavours had the blessing of that great leader. Recently in Calcutta a similar scheme of rehabilitation has been carried on with satisfactory results having been planned in the light of the experience gained in Noakhali. As a result of the devastating flood which

occurred in East Bengal last August, the Bengal Red Cross again extended its help and it sent workers and supplies by air and by rail and has helped in the organising of the system of relief in the affected areas through a Co-ordinating Committee. In this connection it is very satisfactory to note that over Rs. 60,000 has been received for the relief of the flood-stricken people of East Bengal as voluntary donations from individuals and firms in West Bengal besides quantities of food, clothings and medicines. In all this Relief work, the Society has co-operated with other voluntary organisations and worked alongside their workers, has given them and in its turn has been grateful for the co-operation which many of these organisations have given.

Some indication of the popularity of the Red Cross Society, in Bengal is shown by the greatly increased membership. From the 700 members in 1945 it had grown to 6,271 at the end of 1946 and this figure will be exceeded during the present year. I cannot conclude without saying that I think we are all aware that with the new freedom which India has attained we know that we shall be judged by what we do and not merely by what we say. There is always the tendency to paint a too rosy picture but we are alive to our faults and know that if the Red Cross Society is to be worthy of the name it must touch the lives of those who are poor, and those who are needy, it must touch the villages and not merely the big towns and must be an effective force which will operate alongside official schemes in the fields of health and hygiene and Social Welfare.

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MAHATMA GANDHI

By DANIEL THOMAS,

Minister for Prohibition and Transport, Madras

A great darkness has fallen on the land and a sense of personal and national desolation has overwhelmed the hearts and minds of the people throughout the country. The beloved father of the people and the venerated leader, not only of India, but of the world at large, has passed away. It was destined that the Apostle of love and peace, who had preached and practised his doctrine of *Ahimsa* to the wonder and admiration of the world, should meet his end at the hands of a common assassin. Perhaps, it is fitting that it should be so. Christ preached His saving evangel of love and performed His miracles of healing and redemption, but was crucified on the Cross. Mahatma Gandhi, who all his life was a devout follower of Christ's life and teaching, has achieved a similar end. Christ, Buddha, Mahomed and Gandhi: These names are abiding land-marks in the history and progress of mankind. Scientists tell us that, though a star may be extinguished in the heavens, its light will continue to shine on earth for millions of future years. Though the physical presence of Mahatma Gandhi is ended, the

light of his life will continue to shine and irradiate the hearts of millions of people for long ages to come.

Everyone in the country, man and woman, bemoans personally the loss of a beloved father. That enchanting smile of his and that inspiring voice can be seen and heard no more. But let us go forward and treasure in our hearts the spirit and example of Mahatma Gandhi and re-dedicate ourselves to the cause and service of our Motherland and for the spreading of peace and goodwill for all mankind.

In his life, Mahatma Gandhi was 'the pillar of the people's hope and the centre of a world's desire.' In his death, his country and the world experience the bitterness of death and of desolation. But he is not dead. His spirit will be a living inspiration and a beacon-light to guide the people of this country to a destiny worthy of its great traditions and worthy of the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi himself.

*"Dear Friend, far-off, our lost desire
So far, so near in woe and weal
Behold we dream a dream of good
And mingle all the world*

GOLD IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

By K. P. THAKUR, C.A.I.B. (Bom.), C.A.I.B. (Lond.)

"All that glitters is not gold"—we are taught throughout the ages. By a queer analogy the rider may be established, "Gold is gold though lustreless and old."

The yellow metal has long ceased to function as money in active circulation. Gold coin which was so fascinating when it flowed in or out of a Banker's vault or a businessman's counter has long disappeared; in exchange we find coins of baser metals and notes of varying denominations at home and abroad. Yet gold has nonetheless lost its pigment or aroma.

In the domestic sphere it does not function today as a standard of value; its use being sparingly confined to commercial, medicinal purposes as also in the fancy wares and ornaments of the East as well as in the West. From the orthodox Gold standard, the world switched over to Bullion standard, then experimented upon Exchange standard which also against the ever-increasing complexities of human living was found to be inadequate for our needs till we are leaning on paper in the living present.

Retiring from the national humdrum circulation, gold has taken up an unassailable position in the international field for settlement of balance of payments and from there it is exerting a powerful influence over the economic life of nations in the wide world. The Bretton-Woods Conference and the formation of the International Monetary Fund added additional colour to the yellow metal making it the sole arbiter in the international economic disputes.

One of the purposes for which the International Monetary Fund was created was to avoid movement of specie in adjustment of balance of international payments; yet we are constrained to note that it is an irony of fate to find that the Fund by its action and deed admitted that in the ultimate analysis gold, it is only gold, which controls the gear of international trade automobile. The International Monetary Fund reiterated the essential characteristics of the yellow metal and re-affirmed that even in the present era of managed currencies gold is pre-eminently suited as an adjusting lever for setting aright dis-equilibrium in international trade machinery. Accordingly, under the rules of the Fund, it has been made obligatory on the part of a member to subscribe in gold 25 per cent of its quota or 10 per cent of its net official holdings of gold and U. S. dollars whichever was less. Naturally, therefore, in its initial composition of 6535 million dollars paid as on 30th June, 1947, by 29 nations out of 34 members, par values of whose currencies had been agreed, 1344 million dollars have been paid in gold, 2063 millions in U. S. dollars and the remaining \$3128 millions in miscellaneous currencies. Thus 20.57 per cent of the Fund rests in gold, 37.57 per cent in U. S. dollars and 41.86 per cent in other currencies.

Against such a redoubtable background we are to review the price trend of gold.

The price of gold in the international market as with various other commodities, is virtually regulated by the United States of America, who pegged its price to \$35.00 per ounce since 1935 at which rate gold is saleable to the U. S. Treasury. With the outbreak of war, the entire economic outlook of the belligerent countries began to undergo a revolutionary change. Partly due to the impact of inflationary forces, partly due to re-distribution of wealth among population, the lust for bullion increased particularly among a certain section of people who belonged to the group of tax-dodgers and black-marketers. The fright of being caught in the post-war period with consequential damages became uppermost in their mind and in Bullion they found a safe corner to camouflage their fortune and to keep Governmental anti-corruption measures at bay.

This pernicious activity amongst a vicious circle of population was noticeable in a greater volume and variety in the countries of the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Egypt, India, etc., than in the United Kingdom and the United States, where due to the vigilance of the respective national governments and exercise of effective control over production and consumption of goods, grass in black markets found no time to grow under feet. In the latter group of countries another factor accounted for this difference. In the Anglo-American countries, it was the burning patriotism of their citizens, the crying need for saving the country against Hitlerism, which had the sway; against these sentiments no avarice, no corruption could make any headway. In the former set of countries, however, the basic idea was divergent. As none of these countries spontaneously participated in war but were merely dragged into it, except a limited few, many found in it a golden opportunity to make hay while the sun shone. In the successful prosecution of their clandestine operations they sacrificed not only national or business morals but also valuable human lives. Posterity will shudder to learn that for every thousand rupees earned by profiteering during the Bengal Famine of 1943, one human life was lost.*

With the rolling of the war chariot, inflation began to gather moss, prices began to soar high, with it demand for bullion particularly in the Eastern countries, pushed its price to a higher level.

Let us now look to the side of supply. With the exception of 1946, production of fresh gold all over the world exhibited a downward tendency. Added to this, the Eastern countries which were disgorging gold on a huge scale since Great Britain went off gold standard in 1931, appeared on the scene as importers of the yellow metal. As a result, after meeting industrial demand, the balance available for monetary use gradually dwindled at accelerated rate. The following

* Famine Commission Report—Bengal.

table quoted from the Report on Currency and Finance, 1946-47, published by the Reserve Bank of India is illustrative :

Consumption and Distribution of Gold
(In millions of five ounces)

Year	Estimated net consumption in industrial arts	Net absorption in Eastern countries	Net non-monetary absorption	Free production	Balance available for monetary use
1940	1.0	-2.2	-1.2	40.7	41.9
1941	2.0	-0.1	1.9	39.6	37.7
1942	2.8	0.4	3.2	34.2	31.0
1943	4.4	1.1	5.5	27.5	22.0
1944	5.8	1.7	7.5	24.9	17.4
1945	7.5	1.8	9.3	24.3	15.0
1946	9.3	1.1	10.4	25.0	14.6

The quantity of 14.6 million ounces of gold available for monetary use represents a fall of 65 per cent over 41.9 million ounces existing in 1940. With a demand ever growing against a supply which remained static or diminishing, bullion price naturally shot up to levels much above the official parity. Yet movements of the precious metals on an appreciable extent could not take place due to the prevalence of Exchange Controls and war-time restrictions on import and export of specie into and out of countries. An exception was, however, noticeable in the sale of gold in India and various other Middle East countries on Anglo-American account. According to *Reuter's* message, dated the 18th December, 1944, the Federal Reserve Bank's December 1944 issue reviews that the motive behind such sales of gold in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Arabia, Iran, China and in India, too, at a rate much above the official parity, was to combat inflation in these territories as also to cover allied needs for local currency and expenditure. During the years 1943 to 1945 such sales in India alone aggregated 7.5 million ounces.

After the suspension of hostilities, movements of precious metals across national boundaries began to re-appear in July, 1946. The Bank of Mexico offered gold freely for export at a price equivalent to 40.53 U. S. dollars per ounce, i.e., at \$5.53 over the buying rate of U. S. Treasury. Switzerland and Turkey followed suit. Dollars obtained out of the balance of payments were converted into bullion and such bullion was employed in the profitable business of selling in the gold-thirsty territories. For some time sales continued but soon difficulty arose. The purchasers of gold had to pay for it in U. S. dollars or in any other Hard Currency such as Canadian dollars, Swiss francs, Swedish kroner, Argentine pesos, Mexican dollars, etc., which they were not in a position to acquire as they were short of it. The selling countries were not finding it an easy job to keep up the game going. Their own gold stock was meagre to feed the hungry populace. Consequently they had to look askance from the U. S. A., who alone was in a position to face the

situation. The following statistical table exhibits the comparative gold stock of some important countries of the world.

Value of monetary stock of gold in important countries
(In million of dollars)

Year	U.S.A.	France	Switzerland	South Africa	Mexico	Turkey	India	* Britain
1939	17,644	2,709	549	249	32	29	274	
1940	21,995	2,000	502	367	47	88	274	
1941	22,737	2,000	665	366	47	92	274	
1942	22,726	2,000	824	634	39	114	274	
1943	21,938	2,000	965	706	203	161	274	
1944	20,619	1,777	1,158	814	222	221	274	
1945	20,065	1,090	1,342	914	294	241	274	
1946	20,529	796	1,144	941	181	235	274	

(Nov.)

Further such sales of gold by Mexico, Switzerland, etc., was vehemently criticised by the members of the International Monetary Fund. The Committee of the Fund appealed to member countries to stop sales of gold above the official rate in the black market. Eminent bankers, economists including Dr. DeKock, Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, condemned this practice as such sales will result in exchange instability in the long run. In response, the Mexican gold sales were stopped. The Swiss National Bank and the Agricultural Bank and the Commercial Bank Turkey, suspended sales of gold above parity to the public. The United States of America banned export of gold on private account. Licences were strictly confined to export of "semi-processed gold." In the United Kingdom, the Bank of England banned all transactions in foreign gold above the international parity price. As regards India, since February, 1946, a duty of Rs. 25 per tola was imposed on the import of gold into the country. The import duty was, however, reduced by 50 per cent on 12th August, 1946, but from 6th March, 1947, issue of licences for the import of bullion was completely discontinued.

The above, in brief, covers the contemporary history of gold.

The efforts of the members of the International Monetary Fund have been successful in the suspension of gold sales in open market, but were they able to eradicate the evil of free market in gold? No, certainly not. In none of the countries subscribing to the International Monetary Fund gold is sold officially—yet the yellow metal can be acquired and disposed of in darkness in London and New York. Owing to the abolition of open gold market, official free market quotations are not available these days; but it is reported that in New York gold is unofficially quoted around 40 to 43 dollars per ounce; the average price

* During 1939 gold holdings of the Bank of England were transferred to British Exchange Equalisation Fund, whose volume is estimated at 2,240 million dollars although the exact total is a Government secret.—*Statesman*, 11. 10. 47.

of gold in India during 1945-46 and 1946-47 being Rs. 80-3-0 and Rs. 101-1-2 per tola approximately.

Against such a concerted action by the big powers of the world why the black or free market in gold cannot be exterminated? The reason is obvious. Why black markets in rice, sugar, cloth, etc., cannot be removed, although sales of such goods are controlled by Governments? If it is not possible to exercise perfect control in the consumers' goods which may not be stored for distant future, in smaller bulk and greater value, how can we expect to succeed in the case of gold? On the contrary, in the present unsettled conditions of the world particularly in India, where the cost of production of commodities both agricultural and manufactured is rising by leaps and bounds, where labour trouble is a semi-regular feature of industrial life, where wages are chasing prices against a rising tempo of inflation, gold is one of those commodities whose price is anchored at a price prevailing in the pre-war era regardless of its cost of production and its relationship with other sister commodities in the world of exchange.

A section of people argue that the present unbalanced economy will soon disappear and commodity prices will saturate at a reasonable base. To tell accurately what will be the actual shape of things to come, is possible only for foretellers but not for economists, who can, of course, analyse present factors against the past and suggest possibilities in the future. That price level may come down from its Olympic height none should deny but when? On the contrary, the tendency of prices all over the world is to soar upward.

During the years of war, prices in the U.S.A., U.K., Canada, etc., were kept under vigilant control. With the termination of hostilities, in some country commodities were gradually decontrolled. In Canada at present (December, 1947), control has been taken out from all commodities. In the U. S. A., with the exception of sugar, rice, rent and nominal control over a few other materials, commodities have been decontrolled. In India, too, public opinion is against continuance of control any longer in commodities except foodstuff. In the United Kingdom control still continues and is likely to continue for some time to come due to the acute shortage of food and drink in that land. Relaxation of control over manufactured and semi-manufactured goods has been shown by the British Government. The green grocery, fruit, vegetable, tomato trades, the fish trades (where abuses were frequent and the removal of controls was strongly requested) and the soft drink industry have to some extent been decontrolled and opened to new entrants. What has been the result? A rise in price level is the only consequence. In the U.S.A. in March, 1947, wholesale prices and cost of living stood at 196 and 157 respectively as against 143 and 131 for the corresponding month in the previous year. In the U. K., the cost of living remains almost stationary while wholesale

prices jumped by 12 points. In Canada, the wholesale prices and cost of living in March, 1947, rose by 20 and 10 points respectively when compared to 1946. In India, the rise was steeper, the wholesale prices rose by 68 points and retail price by 22 points. The comparative table is given below.

(Base January-June, 1939=100)

	Wholesale price			Cost of living		
	1939	1946	1947 March	1939	1946	1947 March
U. S. A.	101	143	196	100	131	157
U. K.	106	177	189	103	132	133
Canada	103	144	164	101	119	128
India	109	306	374	102	238	260

Thus the price trend all over the world indicates that in the near future we may not expect any heavy reduction in our onerous cost of living. Against the upsurge of labouring group any reduction in their wage bill will result in strikes, stay-in-process and similar such devices resulting in curtailment of production so essential to us at the present moment. The attempt will, therefore, militate against the end for the achievement of which it will be resorted to. As long as the supply of commodities falls short of effective demand, so long production is less than requirement. Labour group will have the control key in their hands and only when the supply market is flooded with a plethora of goods and when satiety is attained by hungry mouths, then only a reduction of price level may be anticipated but not earlier. Such a state of affairs has another contingency; behind the spectre of depression there is the dreaded monster of aggression. Except with the appearance of depression of a wide magnitude a large-scale reduction of wage level may not be feasible; and of the two which one we fear more, rising price level or depression? The consensus of opinion in a ballot will probably be in favour of the former.

If such be the situation, if a reduction in price level is not likely to come up in the near future why then isolate gold from other commodities entering into domestic and international trade? Considered as a commercial undertaking, the cost of production of materials, as already stated, shot up to a high pitch and coupled with drastic taxation of the Government of the producing countries, the control price of gold did not adequately cover its cost of production not to speak of profits of mine-owners. In consequence many of the marginal mines had to close down operation. Mines which were adversely affected by warfare in Burma, Korea, New Guinea, the Philippines, etc., cannot be renovated and reconstructed unless prices offered compensate the cost of labour and capital sunk afresh.

Yet the important nations of the world do not show any inclination to raise the official parity price of gold. The U. S. A. is definitely against any such move as by it U. S. A. apprehends devaluation of dollars. The United Kingdom faithfully adhering to the dictates of uncle Sam will not say otherwise and any attempt on the part of any member of the Inter-

national Monetary Fund to alter the price of the yellow metal is likely to be vetoed successfully by the Anglo-American interests as under the constitution of the fund any proposal can be so vetoed by either U.S.A. or Britain who own each more than 10 per cent of the aggregate fund quota. The British press has in a number of recent despatches categorically stated that Britain would neither raise the price of gold nor promote any such proposal, on the contrary, the British policy is flatly opposed to devaluation of sterling against gold or U.S.A. dollars.

The protagonists of the Anglo-American school of thought believe that a rise in the price of gold will prompt the United Nations to revalue the gold holdings of their Central Banking Institution at current coins. The augmentation of the Reserve value may tempt the holders to issue additional notes, resulting in further inflation and its consequential chain of evils. In the all-round rising tempo American price level will also be affected, making American goods dearer to the hungry world outside. The benefit of the little new extra spending power thus created will be wiped out in securing costlier dollars for payment of American goods. The antagonists, however, argue that if gold price is raised to 40 dollars per ounce and the gold value of various currencies are adjusted proportionately there may not be any alteration between the values of currencies against one another. Further, it is not conclusively established that a rise in the price of gold will invariably result in the further increase of the price level of other commodities. Although the price of gold is pegged to 35 dollars per ounce since 1935, it has not prevented other commodities rising in value; conversely it may be argued that even if the price of gold be raised to 40 dollars an ounce, there is no clear evidence to show that any automatic adjustment in the value of other commodities would also take place.

The Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund and the President of the International Bank have denied the rumour regarding higher prices of gold. The rumour that Britain will pay a premium for South African gold has also been denied from official quarters. Yet the possibility of an eventual rise in the gold price cannot be completely brushed aside. The arguments of those who are for an increase appeared to possess strong reasons behind and even in British quarters informal intimation holds the view that a higher price of gold may come in future. An authority like Dr. Dekock admits that while an immediate increase in the gold price could nearly aggravate world inflation, prospective change to deflation might make the world want a higher gold price as an anti-deflationary measure about a year from now.*

The initiative for that would also lie with U.S.A.; in a U. S. slump, the U. S. A. may prefer to cut the gold content in the dollar thus raising the dollar price of gold rather than cut prices and provoke unemploy-

Informed quarters, however, believe that there are some officials in Washington who are in favour of distributing a big parcel of gold say 2 to 3 billions of dollars of gold out of U. S.'s holding throughout the world which would go a long way to check inflation and bring exchange stability. Mr. Bevin while addressing the annual Trade Union Conference at South Port also pleaded for a redistribution of the Fort Knox gold. It is reported that a proposal to shift American gold worth about 3 billion dollars to devastated Europe is receiving serious attention from leading U. S. Government officials and may be submitted to the Senate as part of the plan to aid Europe as a supplementary plan to Marshall programme.*

But what is all this fuss about? What is the necessity of such re-distribution? What the world needs today is U. S. dollars for the purchase of U. S. goods and not their gold. The volume of such despatches may be doubled or made four-fold, but it is certain that all such gold will find its way back to the States. Gold seized by the Nazis may be re-distributed but that may not stop U.S.A. getting them back in no time.† It is observed from a New York report, dated 18th October, 1947 that the Federal Reserve Bank received \$11,000,000 worth of gold from France. A report dated 20th October, 1947 discloses that the Bank also received from England gold worth £50,000,000 since September 15, 1947. It is a pity, no doubt, that the world after labouring over centuries found out managed flexible currency best fitted to work out smoothly monetary function. To a certain extent managed currency system was successful to show how currency and credit may overthrow the shackles of gold; but Bretton-Woods may be a limiting point whereafter gold standard in a modified form may stage a come-back. The golden rope-way was once built up by men and it was quite useful for the purpose to serve the cause of which it was inaugurated. At the time of its inception and long after when the world was still young and the volume of goods entering into international trade was meagre the ropeway was smooth and easy-going but of late knots have grown over it to make it rough and obstructive. Attempts were, therefore, made to explore new ways unconnected with gold. It was discarded to a great extent but why then arrange for its come-back now? And with what prospects? By force of circumstances U.S.A. now controls the lion's share of the entire world's stock of gold and she is the only country who is capable of sparing goods, consumers and capital, to outside world after meeting her own requirements. If U.S.A. continues to pin her faith only on the yellow metal and disagrees to accept any other medium of settlement in international payments a situation may soon arise when importing countries will be left with no means of payment except by borrowing

* *Statesman*, dated 9.11.47.

† It is reported that out of Nazi-looted gold, France, Netherlands, Austria and Italy received gold to the extent of 104,150,000 dollars, 40,376,900 dollars, 29,460,000 dollars, 4,280,000 dollars.—*Statesman*, dated 21.10.47.

in the States. The fear of such a contingency may be said to have already cast its shadow on the face of the earth. Whether arrangements are made to strengthen the purchasing power of war-worn Europe or Eastern countries through the Marshall plan or by re-distribution of gold such spoon-feeding will not have anything but transitory effect on world economy. People may subsist on charity for a short while but cannot exist thereupon for long. What is wanted is rejuvenation of lost national wealth of the nations and for this the deficient should get what they need and should give out what they can afford to spare. On the contrary, if U.S.A. desires merely to send out her own product and accept nothing in exchange only by giving other people purchasing power by loans or gold (when she knows such gold or loans will only be spent in her market), the situation may not improve. When the loan will be exhausted or when gold will be shipped back to Fort Knox the economic plight of the borrowing countries will be no better than before; over and above these countries will be burdened with heavy foreign debts with U.S.A.

If, on the other hand U. S. A. refuses to recognise

only gold in settlement of international payment and agrees to accept goods in lieu thereof the pressure on gold will be considerably minimised. The basic industries of the non-American countries will get a fillip and their national wealth will increase. International trade is at bottom a barter of goods only. During the last war did we not witness Indian jute and piece-goods being used as exchange for Argentine wheat and Australian wool? If barter of commodities would serve our needs at some time why may we not experiment upon it at other times without complicating matters by bringing an intermediary in the form of gold wherever possible? And what else we desire to get out of international trade except exchange of A's goods for B's? In so doing the upswing of gold price may be checked and a fall precipitated. The vain attempt of the United Nations to control the price of gold, whose demand is too voluminous against a paltry supply, is bound to turn out unsuccessful as we have seen the failure of various control measures in food, drink, clothing, etc. If the gold standard in a modified form is kept alive, the chance of a future fall in the price of gold is purely imaginary.

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JOHN GAWSWORTH

By PROF. PHANIBHUSHAN MUKHERJEE, M.A.

JOHN GAWSWORTH (born 1912) is one of the few English poets who served in India during the last war and who grew to "know and so to love the Indian people." In "India and My Verse" Gawswordth expresses his intention to return to India, for, it is his deepest desire, he says, 'to treat of her worthily' in his work.

Legacy to Love, The Crimson Thorn, In English Fields, and Farewell to Youth represent his "preliminary efforts in an exacting art." *In English Fields* contains a selection from poems written between 1931 and 1941; *The Crimson Thorn* contains poems for lovers, written between 1939 and 1941; *Snow and Sand* is a collection of verses most of which were written during 1942 to 1944, when the poet was serving in the R. A. F. at various sectors of the Mediterranean Front. *Blow No Bugles* contains poems mainly, in date of composition, a companion volume to *Snow and Sand* along with the few verses of his urban year in India where he landed in December, 1944.

Gawswordth writes 'pure poetry.' This is his supreme distinction in an age when literature, and poetry too, has been burdened, perhaps overmuch, with theories of superficial realism, propaganda or psychology. He, therefore, finds a ready response in the hearts of all lovers of life. He describes the poet's process as "the listening-in to the Infinite." Though identified with the post-war English lyric movement, he stands aloof from the modernist school; and his verses "give to airy

nothing a local habitation and a name." If "pure poetry" is "the language of the imagination and the passions," or "the suggestion by the imagination, of noble grounds for the noble emotions," no critic can deny a high place in the hierarchy of English poets, to Gawswordth in whom is continued the traditions of romantic movement of the Elizabethan age and the early nineteenth century.

Gawswordth describes his aim in poetry in *Request* in which he only asks of life,

"To pluck the strings
Of vision's lyre—for rife
Imaginings,"

and one should say that he has succeeded admirably in his efforts. *Reverie, Lost Days, Fideles, Poor Foolish Man, Presentiment, The Mind of Man, Adolescence, Adjugation, Demi-Dirge, Suppliant, Death's Evangelist, Resignation, Seducer's Song* are delightful creations, full of concrete imageries and suggestiveness. There is genius in his exquisitely lyrical verses in which intensity of feeling finds "impassioned expression." In *The Eternal Themes* the poet describes how

"Love, Life and Death are the eternal themes
The nearest, and the dearest, and the best;
From the beginnings, visionings and dreams
Singled the saint and the seer from the rest."

Gawswordth glorifies love and verse in *Blitz*:

"Sadness is deadened,
Fear is numbed
Where exist verse and love"

and says in *Will You Remember?*

*"Life being that eternal moment when
We kissed for all time, finding love as God?"*

He feels:

*"For to refrain from loving is to claim
More power, more sorrowed splendour than to die."*

The call of romance is expressed in:

*"Over every stream that flows
Beyond every mountain,
Lies the rumour of the Rose,
The glimmer of the fountain."*

The poet is keenly alive to the joys of life but is at the same time poignantly conscious of "those days of death that follow passion's course", and "the charnel-chasm of grey death."

The thought how "swift on the spring of youth comes hour December" dejects "the poor dreamer" and benumbs his joys. The poet glorifies Love as Divinity and regrets that "Time is your pestle that will grind us down."

Gawsworth does not sing of the glory of war like Rupert Brooke but of its grim tragedy like Owen:

*"We say nothing; but think only
(Heart-constricted, a moment lonely):
'Who will be killed this time—
And for what crime?'"*

In *To Arthur Pellegrin*, the author proclaims that "Contentment was the life that Allah planned," but the war made a havoc of the world.

The World: 1943 brings out vividly the picture of the war-weary world:

*"And death's dim-peopled halls,
Dazed, witness the blight
On earth's bare bough,
Awe'd, mute at the Tragedy
Of here and now."*

With grim irony the poet describes war as "the theorem of sane democracy in lusty action." War is the poet's pagan festival. "Christ gives me blood for wine!" But peace is greater than war and he sings in *Croc at Sorrento*:

*"I saw today the puissance of the pen
And the futility of the sharp sword."*

The pen is mightier than the sword and in *Flower of Peace* he says:

*"When the lotus unfolds,
Its perfume arises;
So peace as man moulds,
Shows arrant surprises . . ."*

*"O Champak blossom, concord's flower,
Lend courage now in the threatening hour,
Concord is but man speaking to man
With kind eyes and no after-plan."*

In *Christmas Bells* he proclaims the glory of Jesus, the peace-maker:

*"None hears the Christmas Bells that night
But feels a star within his heart,
That his dark sky has fleeced to white
That he will dare the braver part:
For Peace, they say, and Peace they mean:
Eternal, steadfast and serene.
Who brought this peace of world release
Was Christ, the Soul of Man."*

The English: June 1948 brings out the essential English character:

*"For, like the day-obliterated star,
We shine in night and have our glory then."*

The reader is reminded of Earl Baldwin's characterization of the English as a nation made for a time of crisis.

There is an open-air freshness in Gawsworth's imageries and some of his sonnets have a classical restraint and deep subdued emotion reminding one of Shakespeare many of whose lines they almost echo. In *Rivers* and some other poems the poet exploits to the full, like Milton, the melody of place-names. Some of his poems, full of a contemplative vein, mark out the contrast between man and nature and have in them an unmistakable strain of mysticism.

There is, in Gawsworth's verse, "an intimate sense of things," an exquisite and perfect rendering of the "moods of the mind" in its variety of experiences in language replete with rich suggestion and redolent of the aroma of great masters in English poetry. His Norman-Celtic descent finds expression in his swift and vivid power of imagination and his consciousness is instinct with an abiding sense of beauty in nature and human life. He combines in him deep contemplativeness, enchanting vision, sweet sensuousness, swift and soaring imagination and the melancholy of all who have felt the sense of tears in things early. The union of deep tenderness and delicate reserve marks his poetry out with an individual quality. He has a fine sense of the melody of words and he exploits fully the devices of language to enhance the beauty of rhythm. The rounded perfection of many of his poems reminds one of Keats's odes.

His poems *To Bengal* are particularly refreshing. The beauty of her women and her flora inspired him with a lyric passion. Says he:

*"Ulysses came to his last country—
Far it was and wide,—
And he beached his ship, and he stretched his legs,
And he said: 'Here I'll abide,'
For he had been in Barbary,
In Sicily, in Italy,
And the sand seas without tide
And he wanted rest
On a burnished breast,
A tawny thigh beside—
The balms of a Bengal bride."*

He describes the beauties of Bengal in *Bengal Blossoms*:

*"Bengali blossoms from what bough,
Chameli, Ashok and Champak,
Do you cascade to tease me now
With all the love I lack?
Bengalis, veil those speaking eyes
And glide less lissom, for you call
Aloud the sacred mysteries
Inherent in your green Bengal. . ."*

He pays a warm tribute to Bengal in *Three Graces*:

*"When Beauty is so prodigal—
And not furtive in its revealing—
As it is in Divine Bengal
Who has selective feeling?"*



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS : By M. Ramaswamy, B.A., B.L. Published by Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Pp. 252. Price Rs. 6-8.

The basic problem mooted in the book under review is one of perennial interest in political science, viz., that of reconciliation of human liberty and State authority with a view to furthering best the ends of society and maximising human welfare. The problem has passed through many changing phases in this dynamic world and the line demarcating the frontier of human freedoms and State intervention is an ever-shifting one. Yet the value of human freedoms embodied in certain fundamental rights of man placed beyond possible encroachment by public authority is indisputable. As the author has stated in the preface (p. IX), "Liberty is not a mere decorative frill which lends a certain grace and charm to human existence but it is of the very essence of life itself," or as Rousseau observed about two centuries ago, "To renounce liberty is to renounce being a man, to surrender the rights of humanity and even its duties." It is true as the author has stated (p. 90) that liberty is a concept of multiple strands. It is no longer viewed as merely a native concept consisting in freedom from restraint as conceived by the *Laissez Faire* school in the nineteenth century, but as something positive calculated to provide the individual with the fullest opportunities of realising his human personality by cultivating all his latent potentialities.

One of the devices by which the liberty of the individual is sought to be safeguarded—no longer from the tyranny of the despotic monarch but from the tyranny of the legislative majorities—is the introduction of a bill of rights in the constitutional text. Experience of recent history particularly in Europe does not make one enthusiastic about the efficacy of this device for securing fundamental human rights. Yet the importance of writing into the text of a modern constitution a bill of human rights sheltered from the encroachment of legislative majorities as well as the executive can hardly be minimised, if for no other reason than at least to emphasize the great significance of these rights and to serve as a constant reminder of that fact to all concerned. Moreover, if the experience of some countries of Europe has been disappointing in this respect it has been otherwise in the U. S. A. and the author has been able to show "how the American Bill of Rights, reinforced by later additions, has, with the wise and powerful support of the judiciary, been able to establish and foster a high and priceless tradition of liberty and free institutions in the U. S. A." (preface page IX). In his approach to the problem he has wisely followed the American example rather than the British, because India's problems are more similar to those of America than of Britain. With her federal

set-up, with her crying minority and untouchability problems India would do well to imitate the American example rather than the British where the principal safeguard for fundamental rights of citizens lies mainly in the force of an ever-vigilant public opinion which has yet to be developed in our country. But while the author has based his conclusions mainly on American experience he has not indulged in blind imitation but has suggested suitable modifications in conformity with the peculiar conditions and requirements of India. He has not merely made out a case for the incorporation of a bill of fundamental rights in the constitutional instrument of India and suggested effective means of realising and enforcing them through courts of law, he has been at considerable pains to formulate a detailed draft Bill of Rights to be incorporated in the new constitution of India setting out his reasons for the inclusion of each of its articles and explaining fully its import and scope. A bill of rights embodied in the constitution is and also meant to be limitation on the powers of the government both in its executive and legislative sphere, because its avowed object is to protect the liberty of the citizen against inroads of the government and as such opens up opportunities for frequent disputes and legal proceedings which may be embarrassing to the government. To guard against this danger the drafting of the bill requires the utmost care and judicious selection to make it at once legally effective and at the same time avoiding needless and embarrassing restrictions on the powers of the legislature. Mr. Ramaswamy's draft Bill of Rights for India set forth in the fourth chapter with comments and explanations and enumerated in the Appendix satisfy in our opinion both these tests.

The book is a very timely publication dealing with one of the most important problems that the fathers of the constitution of a free India have been engaged in grappling with for some time past and affecting the destinies of a considerable part of the world's population. We fully share the author's hope that the book although written primarily in the context of Indian conditions, yet dealing as it does with a problem transcending all limitations of race, religion and territory 'will make an appeal far beyond its confines.'

The book therefore may be commended to the students of constitution and constitutional history, not only of this country but in other lands as well, as a work of highly topical interest but one not likely to lose its interest with the lapse of time.

A. K. GHOSAL

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DOMINION OF INDIA : By P. N. Murty and K. V. Padmanabhan. Metropolitan Book Company, Delhi, 1947. Price Rs. 6-12.

"All over India and indeed over the world, laymen would be endeavouring to ascertain what is the

constitution, what are the laws with which this great new Dominion starts its existence, above all, what changes have been effected in the pre-existing constitutional and legal position". It is in response to this need that the Registrar of the Federal Court and the Under-Secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India have collected together in this book the several important documents connected with partition and with the creation of the independent State of India.

Part I gives the text of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and the reports of the Boundary Commissions. Part II gives the text of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted and modified by the Independence legislation. Part III gives the orders made by the Governor-General in relation to India and the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

The author has contributed to the book a brief introduction in which the relationship between the pre-existing position and the new constitutional arrangements has been explained. The Indian Independence Act, 1947 formed the culminating point, said the British Prime Minister in the course of debate in the House of Commons, in a long course of events. The authors rightly do not go into the details of these events. They confine their observations to the description of the main features of the 1935 constitution and to the analysis of the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

Appended to the book are three appendices—(1) the form of the Instrument of Accession; (2) the form of the Standstill Agreement between the Dominion and the States; and (3) the text of the Statement made by the Cabinet Mission to India on 16th May, 1946.

The publication is both timely and useful and altogether not too dear, although the printing is not mistakes.

BOOL CHAND

SUBLIMATION: *By B. J. Trevor Davies, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. Foreword by E. S. Waterhouse, M.A. D.Litt. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1947. Price 6s.*

One cannot but admire the wide studies of the author and still more his fervent zeal to introduce moral arguments in the consideration of the topic of sublimation. He has in the book under review introduced the views of many authorities on sublimation but the chief target towards which his batteries of criticism are directed is of course Freud "to whom belongs the honour of having brought the process into limelight both of critical and popular thought." (p. 10). He does not question the fact of sublimation but the point that he has sought to make out is that this process of sublimation—"the deflection of instinctual energy to 'higher' social aims—cannot be accomplished without a 'pull' from the front" and cannot be explained unless one admits the objective existence of moral values. Instinctive energy cannot direct itself to higher channels just as man cannot lift himself by tugging at his own bootlaces or pulling his own hair. It is the objective moral standard that is ultimately responsible for deflecting the libido energy towards the channels of culture, art, religion and the higher values of life.

The whole thesis of the book is only a particular instance of the age-old controversy between Science and Philosophy. The author is for Philosophy and for a particular brand of it too, and therefore he cannot rest satisfied with the explanation of a phenomenon, much less of a mental phenomenon, in terms of its past conditions only. Science, however, cannot but do that

and cannot but be deterministic in its outlook. In the scientific interpretation that Freud and persons of his way of thinking have given of sublimation, they have not violated the canons of logic. That the sins of men are responsible for an earthquake disaster may be a very satisfying explanation to some but certainly cannot be considered a scientific interpretation of the event.

All the subtle and ingenious arguments that the author has quoted and put forth in considering the various problems relating to sublimation rest upon the repudiation of the fundamental deterministic standpoint of Freud. "Are we then simply mechanisms biologically and psychologically determined? This does seem to be Freud's philosophical standpoint, so far he has one at all; it is a standpoint which we emphatically repudiate." (p. 54). If that be emphatically repudiated then not only sublimation but all that Freud has discovered may easily be thrown overboard in one sweep. Will the intellectual world—philosophers included—agree to do it?

Freud and his followers have sought to trace the conditions under which sublimation takes place. It may be freely admitted that their study of sublimation still remains incomplete. But they have not certainly attempted to find out the ultimate final cause of sublimation just as the physicist while measuring the speed and intensity of light does not feel called upon to settle the question as to why light is propagated at all?

The volume does not present any new argument but is just a collection of much that has been said many times against the Freudian standpoint and refuted as many times. The reviewer is rather surprised to see that so much confusion not only regarding Freudianism but regarding the fundamental standpoint of Sciences even should be displayed at such high quarters. That only confirms the knowledge that we have gained from the spread of the Freudian views that Man after all is guided more by Emotion than by Reason.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES: *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Fourth edition, thoroughly revised and partly rewritten. With three portraits. S. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Pp. xii + 394. Price Rs. 10.*

The new edition of this authoritative life of Shivaji, which has just come out, embodies the new materials discovered and the revised opinions formed by Sir Jadunath during the last 19 years. Especially the use of the invaluable Jaipur records (which were brought to light in 1939 after nearly three centuries of concealment, has enabled the author to write a new and astonishing account of the great Maratha hero's visit to the Court of Aurangzib and his escape from the jaws of that tiger. Similarly more Portuguese and Marathi sources published during the interval have been utilised to amplify or correct several other sections. The improvements and additions are thus described: "The aggregate result of these changes is that in this edition, a new presentation of the *Young Shivaji* has been given, the Javli and Purandar episodes and also Shahji's captivity in 1643 entirely rewritten, the Afzal Khan affair more fully explored, the accounts of Shivaji's audience with Aurangzib and captive life in Agra entirely reconstructed, the second coronation of Shivaji with *Tantrik* rites added as an entirely new story, the battles with Khawas Khan and Baji Ghorpare near Kudal more fully and correctly described. . . . The critical bibliography has been recast and brought up-to-date, while the Index has been ex-

panded." The book has been out of print for two years. We are confident the present edition will be welcomed by readers.

N. B. Roy

THE CALL OF THE EAST: By Jal K. Wadia. Published by *Thacker Spink and Co., August 24, 1947.* Pp. x + 121. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book under review saw the light of day on a significant date in recent memory. This is by itself a happy augury quite apart from the perennial appeal of the theme embodied herein. The pervading spirit of this booklet is in remarkable harmony with the grandeur of the sad occasion—rendered doubly sadder by the dramatically sudden disappearance of the high-priest of Eastern thought and culture—which witnesses its publication. There could be no more opportune moment for the announcement of the perpetual call of the East that has remained long unheard down the corridor of time. On the threshold of the New

ie can of the East

With becoming modesty the authorship of this inspiring publication is disclaimed by Sri J. K. Wadia. In good faith he dedicates "this book to its true author—the Jagat Guru." That of course does not give it immunity from criticisms, wherever found inevitable.

But believing, as he does, that "it is not a mere scholastic study that one has to make of religion," the author has given a timely direction to the professional reviewer—a direction which, alas, is more often honoured in the breach than in observance. He is to be complimented for having focussed our attention on the question of "what has to be derived from religious books" and on the categorical answer thereto, *viz.*, 'Inspiration and Aspiration.' Simple as it is in enunciation, it is nevertheless profound in its implication for the religious life of man. This is the point of focal importance which has got to be re-enthroned in its ancient glory on the pedestal of spiritual life. Religion is nothing if it does not rest on a foundation that is moral through and through. That is the religion that underlies religions in the plural. That also ensures the unity of religion which is the pang-born lesson for us today; and the way to achieve this desideratum is clear-cut and well-defined. As Pascal once said, morality is one, while religions are many. In the nine chapters dealing respectively with (i) The Message of Peace, (ii) The Religious Thoughts of the East, (iii) The Study of Religion, (iv) The Formation of Man, (v) From Savage to Saint, (vi) The Paths to Realization of God, (vii) Spiritual Exercises for the Beginners, (viii) The Requirements of Spiritual Practices, (ix) The Call of the East, there are ever so many flashes of intuition and inspiration, chastened by the devotedness of a life of aspiration for the Holy Spirit that it would be unjust to pick and choose therefrom for random quotation here. The get-up of the book is all that could be desired. We heartily recommend this book to the devout soul for a reverent study which it eminently deserves.

S. K. Das

LIGHTS ON THE UPANISHADS: By T. V. Kapali Sastry. Published by *Sri Aurobindo Library, 369 Esplanade, Madras.* Pp. 162. Price Rs. 2.

The book comprizes seven chapters of which the first five appeared as articles serially in the *Advent Quarterly* under the title of 'Readings from the Upanishads.' The sixth chapter entitled 'Vedic Wisdom in the Vedanta' was contributed to the second Annual

of the Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay. The book gives a fresh exposition of the Upanishads in the light of Sri Aurobindo's Yoga and Philosophy.

The Bhumā Vidya, Prāna Vidya, Shandilya Vidya, Vaisvanara Vidya and Mādhu Vidya of the Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishads are dealt with briefly in this book. Vidya means a spiritual discipline. According to Sri Aurobindo, the Upanishads are not at all metaphysical speculations but precious manuals of spiritual disciplines. The Upanishads are to the Sage of Pondicherry 'not theories and doctrines but words of wisdom based upon Truth-Knowledge'—Truths realised by the Rishis and realisable by earnest aspirants. Sri Aurobindo holds that each of the realisations described in the Upanishads is true and the Truth of anyone need not and does not nullify the truth of any other. "In liberation the individual soul realises itself," observes Sri Aurobindo, "as the One that is yet Many. It may plunge into the One and merge or hide itself in its bosom—that is Maya of the

the Visistadwaita liberation: It may lay stress on its many aspects and go on playing with Krishna in the Eternal Brindavan—that is Dwaita liberation. Or, it may even being liberated remain in the Lila or manifestation or descend in it as often as it likes. The Divine is not bound by human philosophies. It is free in its play and free in its essence." This is the foundational principle of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and Sri Aurobindo has built his philosophical edifice on the Upanishads. The author of this book and other advocates of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy assert that Sri Aurobindo's speculations have thrown new lights on the Upanishads. This is not true and tenable. In the Ramayana, Hanuman says to Sri Rama: "When body-idea prevails in me I am Thy servant; when I think I am a *jiva* I am Thy part; when I know I am the *Atman*, I and Thou art one. This is my firm conviction." Is not Sri Aurobindo's philosophy an echo, or at best an amplification of Hanuman's wonderful experience?

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

ABHINAYAMKURAM: By Gopinath and Naga-bhushan. *Natana Niketana Publications, Madras.* Price Re. 1-8.

This is a collection of extracts, accompanied by English translations, from works like *Sangitaratnakara*, *Abhinayadarpana* and Bharata's *Natyashastra*, dealing with the mythological origin, utility and types of histrionic art with special reference to various movements of the head and the eyes connected therewith. Separate sections are devoted to the description and illustration of the different facial expressions resulting from various emotions as also to the illustration and indication of the uses of the *mudras* or gestures of the hand manifested in the Kathakali dance of South India. It is regretted that the sources of the valuable information collected in the booklet, specially of the Sanskrit extracts quoted, have not been mentioned to help the inquisitive reader to secure more light on a difficult and obscure subject. It is needless to point out that the work under review touches only a small fringe of the extensive literature of old India on the interesting topic of histrionic art and the want of a comprehensive treatise based on this literature is felt very keenly.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

BENGALI

SARATCHANDRER PATRAVALI : *Compiled and edited by Brajendranath Banerji. Bookland Ltd., 1 Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

Saratchandra is not only a great writer, he is more than that. The human qualities so prominent in his writings are also characteristic of the man. He who lives on a high pedestal and never comes down to our level may inspire awe and draw our admiration and respect but is not the man whom we may really love. *Saratchandrera Patravali* is an important collection of his letters. These letters reveal the great litterateur in all his strength and all his weaknesses, in his greatness and his frailties. Saratchandra has his strong likes and dislikes and he never minces matters. As in all his writings in these letters too his transparent sincerity is quite apparent. His warm heart, his tenderness, the love that he bears for those who are near and dear to him, his sympathy for those who are fallen and down-trodden are all there in these letters. He is not surely one who may be called a conscious artist, but he is always conscious of his great powers. At one time he somehow came to believe that he had not long to live. At that period his only regret was that though he had much to give the allotted span of his life would not allow him to bequeath to posterity those precious gifts. Even at the time he had not attained fame he knew that except perhaps Rabindranath there were few among his contemporaries who were his equals. His ideas about art and literature, about their function and their technique and limitation are highly interesting, and they will help critics of Saratchandra's literature to explain the structure, form and characterisation of his novels and short stories. The editor has done well to bring out this bunch of valuable letters in a handy volume, for more than any biography can do—this epistolary compilation reveals the man in Saratchandra.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BHARATBARSHER SWADHINATA EBANG ANYANYA PRASANGA (India's Freedom and Other Topics) : *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by Shree Bharati Publishers, 209 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 32 + 252. Price Rs. 4-8.*

Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal has already established his reputation as a student of affairs of India during the period since Raja Ram Mohun Roy's days. His Bengali book, *Muktir Sandhane Bharat*, gave a connected history of India's fight for political independence nurtured by the Renaissance that burst upon the country as a result of the impact of British methods of administration, of exploitation, of education on the life and thought of an ancient people. The present volume goes into the detailed description of the many problems that stirred our people's mind during the first seventy years of the 19th century—their grievances against the alien State authority, their reactions against its educational and fiscal policies, the controversies between reformers and the upholders of traditional life. All in all, the present volume holds the

mirror to the life and conduct of our predecessors whose struggles for better life we inherit and which we have brought to fulfilment, symbolised by the withdrawal of British authority and control on and from August 15, 1947.

The story related in this book is made up of articles published in the *Amrita Basar Patrika* during the years 1868 to 1870 when the paper was appearing as mainly a Bengalee-language weekly. The choice of the subjects dealt with in the articles ranged from British misrule, from controversies between Indians of many ideas and conceptions of what was beneficial to the people, from agrarian discontent, to the separatist conceits and ambitions of the Muslims of India that have reached fruition in the setting of a separate State carved out of India. The curious reader will find in pp. 174-82 and 222-27 an eye-witness' account of how this separatism had been creating the conditions that have reached their natural consummation in 1947.

Compilations like this are a source book of history. In Bengal, Shri Brojendra Nath Bandhopadhyay has blazed the path by his book, *The Recent Times Through the Periodical Press*. The present compiler acknowledges his debt to this and other pioneers. Their example and guidance others can follow with profit to the instructed democracy that we hope to see developed in India.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HINDI

RASMAYI : *By Ramlal Mahson. Available from the author at Kavi Sadan, Pp. 119. Price Rs. 2.*

This is an epic, in *Khari Boli*, on the eternal theme of the meditation and song of all devotees; namely, the perpetual and perfect love of Radha and Krishna, which is at once human and divine. The 'scheme' is based on 29-33 chapters in the tenth *Skandha* in the *Srimad Bhagavat*. The poet's own devotion for the Old and yet Ever-New. Pair has given to his verse both wing and wisdom. The emotion of ecstasy is palpably evident. In *Rasmayi* the drama of divinely human love is enjoyably re-enacted; as such, it will ever be a favourite with all devotees.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BIASHA. VRATT ANE KAVYALANKAR : *By Prof. K. B. Vyas, M.A. of the Elphinstone College, Bombay. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay 2, 1945. Thick Card-Board. Pp. 325. Price Rs. 3-4.*

The four divisions, into which Prof. Vyas who is not a tyro but an insistent student of his mother language and its history has divided this extremely learned subject, connote the importance attached to it. The divisions are headed: (1) Purity of Language, (2) The Power of Words, Metre, and Alamkar, (3) Development of the Gujarati Language and (4) *Kavya Vivechan* (Comments on Poetry). Somehow the work has raised a controversy, and his data and conclusions are questioned by a very well-known oriental Parsi Scholar, J. E. Sanjana, a deep student of Sanskrit, Gujarati, Persian, and Marathi. Prof. Vyas has defended himself and Mr. Sanjana means to return to the charge.

K. M. J.



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RAJJYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Basis of World Understanding

Professor William Stuart Nelson, of Howard University, delivered three lectures on "The Basis of World Understanding" at the Calcutta University in August, 1947. A short summary of the lectures as prepared by Professor Nelson and published in *The Calcutta Review* is given below :

As Rabindranath Tagore wrote in one of his songs, "The world is delirious with hatred." In Europe, North and South America, and the East there are raging struggles of varying intensities but all fraught with the most serious possibilities. While ideological differences are not in themselves an evil, there are many evil fruits from the spirit in which men differ and the instruments they use to establish their views and disestablish views that are different from their own.

The approach to the problem must combine the spirit and methods of science, religion, and philosophy. Facts are not sufficient. Religion which supposes divine sanction to irreligious biases and is built upon devotion to petty ends is a menace to peace. Religion as enlightened loyalty to the supreme values of the universe can prove a great aid to understanding. The objectivity and comprehensiveness of the philosophic approach are indispensable.

The causes of world conflict lie in part in man's nature described by Reinhold Niebuhr as pride born of anxiety, which is a concomitant of freedom. Men as individuals and as groups are also what they are by virtue of their geographical locations and the effects upon them of climate, atmosphere, land contours and other similar factors. Geography is a strong determinant as to the nature of a state and its people. Collective human evils take the forms of economic exploitation, nationalism, and social arrogance.

Basic approaches to world understanding include not only a recognition of the evil tendencies in men but of their noble qualities. To act towards men on the assumption that there is something basically good in them is to evoke goodness. The difference between men is due largely to the difference in the way they are treated by other men. A canvass of the lives of the people will reveal many noble qualities. There are great masses whose graves are unmarked or whose ashes have gone unnoticed down to join the sea but whose lives have been marked by long sacrifice for their parents or children or neighbours. One can find an impressive number of political leaders who, amid calumny and renunciation, have borne the burden of winning the freedom of their people.

A second step toward world understanding is for men not only to believe in one world but *one people*. There is a vast difference between parts of a world being proximate in space and time, and a family of mankind. One world by its very oneness can lend to evils which were inconceivable in the age when worlds were weeks and months and years apart. Our proximity is an invitation to destruction.

There is great urgency in the call for the concept of one people, one family, of the nations and races and religions of mankind gathered into one spiritual community.

The concept of one people is grounded on the facts of our natures and our lives. Physically men are more alike than different. There is a strong indication that the mental and emotional character of all men is as common as their physical character. The fundamentals remain the same in spite of superficial differences. The mother in Bengal suffers the same pain at the loss of her child as the mother in New York, or Sydney or Moscow. In the presence of birth and death, sickness and health, youth and old age, triumphs and defeats we experience feelings that differ in no fundamental way. This is due in large part to the fact that all men draw their sustenance from the same Mother Earth.

It is significant that the great religions of the world have insisted upon man's oneness in spite of the fact that their followers have often proved the most bitter dividers of mankind.

A basic step in the direction of world understanding is a brief in the plurality of values or the many-sidedness of the good. This means the elimination or reduction of religious, cultural, and racial dogmatism. Men must see the universal truths in different religions. The arrogance which teaches that any one religion is the exclusive possessor of all truths is no friend to human understanding. Men need to emphasize the universal elements in the great religions and de-emphasize their peculiarities. It is found, for example, that the concept of love is preached by all great living religions. This should prove a uniting ground.

It is also important to recognize the values in the differences in religions. Each religion must work out the best means of communicating and realizing in life the ideals of that religion. These means will differ from religion to religion.

We must also give up cultural dogmatism. Anthropologists are coming increasingly to the view that one culture cannot arbitrarily be called a greater culture than any other. If there seem to be differences in the cultures of the East and the West, they must not be considered as basic and eternal differences. The same differences can always be found within each culture. More and more cultural differences will become personal rather than national or racial. Differences in taste are to be encouraged as this makes for enrichment and not necessarily disagreement. There is also no sound ground for racial dogmatism. Racial antagonism is relatively young historically. It does not exist in children until children are taught it. That the races of mankind are really one people is demonstrated by their physical likenesses. Intelligence is also distributed across all races.

Practical steps in the direction of world understanding must include the ending of all political, economic, and racial imperialisms. No nation has the moral right to rule over the destinies of other peoples and exploit their lands. Imperialism not only divides the subject people from the subjugator but divides subject peoples among themselves. It also makes for a transvaluation of values.

Imperialist nations invent moral codes to justify their imperialist designs and acts.

Economic imperialism may be more subtle but also carries grave dangers and must be guarded against especially by a people recently freed.

The outlawry of war is very important to the attainment of world understanding. Wars seem inevitably to lead to more wars. Even victorious allies find it difficult and sometimes impossible to co-operate after a war, while defeated nations are driven to a solidarity which often presages a later war of revenge. War frequently divides also a victor nation against itself. It encourages class war within a people and tends to break down moral restraints and to give rise to lawlessness.

Another instrument for promoting world understanding is education. One of the reasons dominant people remain dominant is because they have not been taught the implications of their domination. This is so because their rulers have protected them against education in international friendship. The effort to give education an international emphasis has met with great opposition and many failures. Men are still stumbling blindly into hatreds and conflicts.

The importance of education to freedom is reflected in the denial of education to colonial people by imperialist powers.

A study of education in India and Africa bears this out strikingly. Every effort must be made, therefore, to get education to colonial people and to educate the masses of those who have recently become free. No expenditure of funds will prove more profitable than this.

The difficulties man face in achieving world understanding is strikingly illustrated by the problem of race relations in America. This is regarded as America's number 1 problem and number 1 failure. It is due to the determination of a great number of white Americans, principally but not exclusively in the southern states, that Negroes shall never attain a position of equality with them. This determination has resulted in a separation of the two races or segregation especially in the southern states. The system of separation has led to gross educational, political, economic, and social discrimination against Negroes. Only approximately one-fourth of the money spent on the average American child is spent on the Negro child in the South. Negroes in southern states are almost totally denied the right to vote. Except in government, and often there also, Negroes are relegated to the poorest paid positions. Even before the courts, they cannot expect justice in the South.

A careful study of the situation reveals that the basic causes of it are not racial. They are found in a carry over from the old slave regime which many whites desire to perpetuate in another form; in fear of political, economic, and cultural competition from Negroes; in the lack of support which Negroes receive from other nations; in the fact that they still suffer from a cultural lag.

In spite of the difficulties from which Negroes suffer they have made astounding progress. In 83 years their illiteracy has been reduced from about 90 per cent to 10 per cent; in 1945 there were 65,000 Negro students in colleges with 5,000 receiving the A.B. and B.S. degrees—this out of a total Negro population of 13 millions. There are 4,000 Negro doctors, 1,000 lawyers, 65,000 teachers, 2,000 college and university presidents and professors, and 25,000 clergymen. In these professions and in music, drama, and literature numerous Negroes have achieved eminence. They have more than 30,000 business including 11 banks and many insurance companies. Two Negroes are now members of the United States Congress and 27 of state legislatures. They publish between 300 and 400 newspapers, magazines and bulletins.

A basic change of good in the relations of Negroes and Whites is possible in three directions: (1) a radical change towards Negroes of some major section of American society as government, the church, or labor. Greatest hope is placed in labor forces; (2) a program of non-violent non-co-operation by Negroes; (3) the migration of several million Negroes from the southern to the northern states where they can expect larger opportunities to fulfil their destiny as an integral part of the American people.

Critical Situation

The New Review observes :

The political complex in India is fluid. Genuine democracy is to be put on a stable basis, whilst disruptive factors and totalitarian tendencies are in conflict. Democracy supposes that there be first a general agreement between citizens about the fundamental requirements of state-life; in particular civic freedoms must be defined which all will acknowledge as intangible and above party strife. This point looks simple enough at first sight, but, on further study, it is puzzling to many experts. The UNESCO Conference held at Mexico City (Oct.-Nov., 1947) once more demonstrated that the U. N. Commission on Human Rights will find it difficult to draft a bill of rights acceptable in all countries.

A fundamental divergence arose about the very sources of human rights. As Benedetto Croce said, "It is precisely that agreement (on fundamentals) which is lacking . . . in the two most important currents of world-opinion: the liberal current and the authoritarian-totalitarian current." He confessed that even in the liberal current there is deep division. Croce himself emphatically declared that there is no such thing as 'natural and inalienable rights', that rights are 'simple historical facts, manifestations of the needs of such and such an age, and an attempt to satisfy these needs', that the conception of 'universal rights of men' is based on a theory 'which has become philosophically and historically quite untenable.' On the other hand, another school supports the American Declaration that 'all men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

Hence Croce did not hesitate to speak of the 'futility and impossibility' of carrying out the task of the Human Rights' Commission. On his part, Jacques Maritain pointed out the differences which divide 'the disciples of Locke, Rousseau or Tom Paine, Roman Catholicism, Marx-Leninism, Humanitarian Socialism, Greek Orthodoxy, Calvinism, Gandhism, Confucianism, etc.' and he too claimed that any basic agreement on the nature of human rights and their theoretical



INDIAN PERIODICALS

justification is impossible. Maritain, however, was careful to add that a sharp distinction should be made between 'practical conclusions' and 'rational justification.' He suggested drafting a list of rights obtained from representatives of all schools of thought, then compiling and redrafting them in a language agreed to by all so as to have a declaration 'embodying a practical convergence of views, whatever be the differences of theoretical perspective.' Such a declaration would be a 'note-worthy landmark'; it could stand as a practical agreement of mankind.

Further discussions would evidently arise. Points of disagreement would demand a clarification of the terms used. It is clear that when Russia and America indulge in talks about 'democracy and freedom,' they do not give these words an identical meaning, and are thus led to discussions which are pointless, confusing, if not infuriating. A common vocabulary would not bring about a common theory, but, as Socrates once said, a problem is half answered once it is put correctly. Confusion in theory and practice is endemic in the political world. Recently the Maharaja of Nepal announced he was prepared to 'grant' freedom of speech, association, etc. to his beloved people; His Highness would have appeared less gracious but be more correct if he had 'humbly acknowledged' the fundamental rights of Nepal's citizens. Moreover what all such freedoms will amount to can only be learned in course of time. Do even the discussion and wording of India's constitution remove every anxiety about the reality and range of our fundamental rights?

ORGANISING DEMOCRACY

The National Congress is the only well-organised party in the country; the rest of our popular representatives are scattered units, independent or semi-independent. At the present moment such a situation is tolerable; unity is most imperative; the greater the unity, the more stable the constitution that will be voted and the more effective our foreign policy. But were the present political build perdure after normal conditions are established, one great danger would threaten national life, the danger of the one-party system; one party, one caucus, one boss and then dictatorship red, black or brown.

The National Congress shudders at the very word of dictatorship; yet it is (understandably so) keen on nursing the prestige it has justly gathered from its role in the national struggle and from Gandhiji's leadership, and it rightly seeks to safeguard its predominant position. But for the very sake of the genuine democracy it pursues, the Congress Government should itself foster the creation of a parliamentary opposition. It

is almost crucial that the opposition adhere to constitutional means. Opposition will arise inevitably. Differences with the Cabinet about social structure, administrative measures, provincial and linguistic policy, etc., will bind together the 'have-nots' and supply them with a highest common denominator of agreement. But with the mental features of our politicians, it is uncertain whether the unavoidable opposition will make one or several groups. The Anglo-Saxon tradition hardly visualizes anything beyond a two-party system, but India's democratic tradition is still abuilding. What is essential is that the opposition be given full play in parliament and that healthy criticism of the majority be ensured to all minorities. If opponents have no free access to Parliament, they might seek redress in the street.



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Chemistry and Cosmology in Ancient India

Prof. Priyada Ranjan Ray writes in *Science and Culture* :

Chemistry in ancient India was intimately associated with religious practices and followed the course of the latter in its development. The presentation of subject-matter in many old writings and works has often been made in the shape of a dialogue between god Siva or Hanu and his consort Parvati or Gauri. This is partic-

ularly evident in the *Samhita* of Charaka and *Susruta*, by which the way to long gold and lead, believed to show the way to long easy salvation, are found in it. But in Rig-veda too there are mentions of the medicinal properties of many plants and particularly of the exhilarating effect of the fermented juice of the Soma plant. The Soma-juice has been described there as *amrita*, corresponding to the Greek *ambrosia*, a draught which made the gods immortal. The age of the Vedas has been fixed by those, who are competent to judge, at or about 2000-2500 B.C. The

1500-1000 A.D. during the Moghul rule, where the authors of such writings or compilations are Buddhist monks, we meet with the name of a Buddha, a Tathagata or an Avalokiteswara being involved as the revealer of all knowledge.

P. C. Ray in his well-known *History of Hindu Chemistry* has shown that the evolution of chemistry in ancient and mediæval India can be conveniently divided into four successive periods. These are distinguished as the Ayurvedic Period, the Transitional Period, the Tantric Period and the Iatro-Chemical Period. But this does not take into account the development of chemical knowledge, dealing particularly with metallurgy and metal workings, in India of very distant age before the advent of the Aryans. This is revealed by the excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and at Harappa in the Punjab, which furnish evidences of the existence of a pre-Aryan civilization round about the Indus valley as early as 3000-4000 B.C.

The Ayurvedic period may be said to have commenced from the pre-Buddhist era and ended at or about 800 A.D.

The Atharva-veda devotes itself mainly to sorcery, witchcraft, demonology, magic, alchemy and cure of diseases by means of charms, incantations and the use of

various herbs. *Samhita* of Charaka and *Susruta*, by sages of the same name, constitute a methodical and rational presentation of the Hindu system of medicine and surgery, and seem to be repositories of many chemical information of the time. These treatises subsequently came to be known as Charaka-samhita and Susruta-samhita as they passed through repeated recensions by later and more advanced workers. Judging from many-sided evidences the time of their composition may be assigned to the pre-Buddhist era (600-500 B.C.), nearly a century or more before the birth of Hippocrates (400 B.C.), the originator of medical science in Greece. Previous to Charaka there existed also other standard works or Samhitas, though less systematized, by sages like Agnivesa, Bhela, Jatukarna, Parasara, Harita and Ksharapani. Charaka himself based his work on that of Agnivesa. Similarly Susruta developed his work upon that of his master Dhanvantari.

Surgery forms an important part of Susruta-samhita as medicine constitutes the main theme of Charaka-samhita.

The next important medical authority of the period, who is held in as high estimation as Charaka and Susruta,

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is Vagbhata, the author of *Astangahridaya* (*lit.* heart or core of the eight limbs or divisions of the Ayurveda). Vagbhata seems to have flourished at a time when the religion of non-violence preached by Gautama Buddha was still predominant in India (600-700 A.D.). References to Buddha and some Buddhist emblems are found in his work. Vagbhata's work is more or less an abridged compilation based mainly on Charaka and Susruta with some abstracts from the earlier treatises of Bhela and Harita.

A very remarkable achievement of this period relates to the physical and chemical theories of the ancient Indians, embracing the process of entire cosmic evolution and the methodology of science. These have been chiefly expounded in the six systems of Hindu philosophy and also to a certain extent in the Buddhist and Jain systems. These systems were possibly evolved during the period dating back from the time of the Upanishads (1000 B.C.) to about third century B.C.

The next stage in the evolution of chemistry in ancient India is termed the Transitional Period in consideration of the fact that metals, metallic compounds and mineral products were increasingly introduced in medicine in place of herbs and plants which constituted the principal remedies in the Ayurvedic age.

The Transitional Period may be said to extend from *circa* 800-1100 A.D.

Vrinda (800-900 A.D.) is the author of the well-known medical treatise named *Siddha Yoga*, which is more or less a collection of materials gleaned from the works of earlier writers, and follows closely the order and pathology of the reputed medical work *Nidana* (etiology of diseases) by Madhavakara (700-800 A.D.). Chakrapani (900-1000 A.D.) is the author of the celebrated compilation, *Chakradatta*, which bears his name. He based his work on that of Vrinda and drew freely from the writings of Charaka, Susruta and Vagbhata. In these two treatises we find methods for the preparation of many metallic compounds, notably of the sulphides of copper, mercury and silver.

The third stage covering the period *circa* 1000-1300 A.D., named as the Tantric Period, is the alchemical age of early Indian chemistry and represents its most advanced or active stage.

For, in ancient India the practice of alchemy was closely associated with the religious rites of the Tantric cult, which flourished mainly during this period though of much earlier origin.

The Tantric cult came into vogue as a result of gradual adoption by the Aryans of the religious practices of the original inhabitants of the land, the non-Aryans. By the beginning of the seventh century A.D. with the decline of Buddhism and the revival of Brahmanism this Tantric cult became very much popular and prevalent in India. Buddhism too, in its decline, degenerated into a similar type of Tantric cult. The chemical knowledge of the Hindus may be said to have reached its culmination during this period with its vast mass of accumulated facts. It gave rise to a school of alchemical and medical workers who were known as adepts in *rasas*, the term *rasa* being applied to metals in general and mercury in particular. In fact, the chemistry of the period was practically identified with the knowledge of *rasa* or the philosophy and science of mercury, as the latter metal, when properly applied, was believed to secure for man his health, wealth and salvation. Hence, the term *Rasayana* or the Science of Mercury equivalent for

The most conspicuous figure among the Indian alchemists is Nagarjuna, the Buddhist

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worker, who may be viewed as the father and founder of Indian alchemy.

He was also the author of a treatise on metallurgy, Lohashastra, and a prominent figure in the Buddhistic canonical literature as the systematizer of the Madhyamika philosophy. He probably flourished in the 8th century A.D. and composed the famous alchemical treatise, Rasaratnakara.

Mention may here be made of a much earlier alchemist, Patanjali, who probably lived in the second century B.C. and has been quoted by later workers as an authority on Lohashastra or the science of iron. He is better known as the commentator of the famous Sanskrit grammar, Panini, the author of the Yoga system of philosophy.

Of the various alchemical treatises of this period mention may be made of the following:

Rasarnava, which abounds in extracts from Rasaratnakara of Nagarjuna, was probably composed in the 12th century A.D.; Rasahridaya by Govindabhagavat (11th century A.D.); Rasendrachudamani by Somadeva (12–13 century A.D.); Rasaprakasasudhakara by Yasodhara (13th century A.D.); Rasakalpa, possibly composed in the 13th century A.D. and Rasarajalakshmi by Vishnudeva (14th century A.D.).

In many of these treatises, particularly in Rasendrachudamani of Somadeva there are descriptions of various Yantras (apparatuses) for distillation, sublimation, extraction, etc.

The Iatro-Chemical Period in India may be said to have extended from 1300 A.D. to circa 1550 A.D.

A very notable treatise of this period is Rasaratna-samuchchaya by one pseudo-Vagbhata, which is a very systematic, scientific and comprehensive treatise on materia medica, pharmacy and medicine.

Rasanakshatramalika by Mathana Simha (circa 1350 A.D.), Rasaratnakara by Nityanatha, Rasendrachintamani by Ramchandra, Rasasara by Govindacharya—more a chemical than medical treatise compiled probably in the thirteenth century A.D., Sarangadhara-samgraha by Sarangadhara in 1363 A.D., Rasendrasarasamgraha by Gopalakrishna—a compilation based on many Tantras, Rasendrakalpadruma by Sriramakrishna Bhatta—also a compilation from previous works, Dhaturatnamala by Devadatta—composed possibly in the fourteenth century A.D.

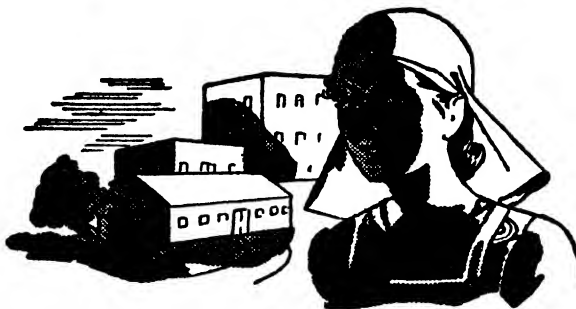
A few more of important medical treatises which were composed towards the end of the sixteenth century A.D. might be added to the above list. Rasapradipa, a standard work on the Tantric method of treatment in which detailed processes for the preparation of mineral acids by distillation are described; Rasakaumudi by Madhava, and Bhavaprakasa by Bhavamisra are other compilations of this type. Dhatukriya, which means operations with metals, is a notable production of the time; so also is Arkaprakasa, a treatise on the preparation of medicinal essences and tinctures.

Then there followed a dark age in Indian chemistry and for nearly three centuries starting with the decline of Moghul period till the beginning of the twentieth century, the Indian mind remained dormant and sterile so far as the progress of chemistry was concerned.

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Gandhi

The following article by Hayim Greenberg is the revised text of an address delivered at the Gandhi memorial held at the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center of the Hindu colony in New York on February 1, 1948, and published in the *Jewish Frontier*:

We have heard here a number of sacred hymns in one of the noblest languages the human genius has produced, and I believe that many of those present who are not fortunate enough to understand Sanskrit are acquainted with the content of those quiet, lofty prayers through translations in the Western tongues. We have heard here a number of thoughtful and deeply felt addresses by the honored head of your congregation, by members of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, and by the Reverend John Haynes Holmes. After such addresses, and particularly after the prayers, I am hardly qualified to contribute anything to the atmosphere of this devout gathering. It is extremely difficult to become accustomed to the idea that Gandhi has breathed the last breath of his flesh-and-blood existence. It is even harder to bear the feeling that history—whose ways only in moments of genuine humility are we ready to admit we still cannot understand—staged a spectacle of cruel irony in India two days ago. The man who gave away almost his whole life to implant in the hearts of men the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" died at the hands of a killer. Even more horrifying is the fact that the killer is no stranger, but one of his own—blood of Gandhi's blood, flesh of Gandhi's flesh, one who was reared in the same faith which led Gandhi to his spiritual triumphs. If after thousands of years of senseless bloodshed we needed still another proof of how perilous for the destiny of mankind are extreme nationalism and religious fanaticism, we were given such a proof by the murder in New Delhi.

Millions of people in India believe in the transmigration of souls. It is not for me to judge what measure of truth such a belief contains. It is a belief which is characteristic of more than one religion, and is not entirely foreign to that religious civilization in which I as a Jew was brought up. Gandhi, I know, believed in reincarnation, and more than once he was asked by some of his followers, whose reincarnation was he? Who had been so to speak, re-embodied in him? Some regarded him as the cyclic reincarnation of Buddha; others—in the Occident—were inclined to the view that the Nazarene had reappeared in his person. I should say that both were mistaken. If one must seek a prototype for Gandhi in the distant past, I should rather see in him the reincarnation of the Indian Emperor, Asoka.

My knowledge of India is very inadequate, yet I am certain that in your great country there have been, and are still today men who, in a certain sense, deserve the title "saint" more than did Gandhi. Gandhi was not a *sadhu*, an ascetic who went into retreat from the tumult of social life and lived in silent retirement, in prayer and pure, undisturbed "contemplation," somewhere in the Himalayas. He did not follow the path of Buddha's lonely individualism, and although the New

Testament left a deep impression on him, his life was not an "Imitatio Christi."

From a certain point of view, his spiritual physiognomy was more akin to the Jewish prophets than to Buddha or Jesus. His conscience revolted against that "cosmic snobbery" which places itself *outside and above* history, beyond the stream of social change. For saintliness too can be egoistic, devoid of responsibility, sinful. The saint who would live outside society, in a world of pure contemplation, in constant communion with transcendental truths, undisturbed by concrete sufferings of concrete human beings, by the fate of billions of his fellowmen, of nations, of races, arrogates to himself a privileged position, a luxury which is sinful in its essence. Though he live in state of poverty and chronic hunger like a Buddhist monk, though he be naked and barefoot and without shelter like a Franciscan in days of yore—he is sinful simply by virtue of having built a huge pyramid and seated himself, with a carefree, mystical megalomania, on the sharp point of that pyramid. "Saintly" detachment from suffering—even from the most "common," "physiological" suffering of fellow-men and fellow-creatures—is a passive form of cruelty, something tantamount to sacrilege. That sin of indifference and aloofness, Gandhi sought always to avoid; and if I may say so in this place, he determined to be "less holy" than he would have wished to be or than he could have been. How often he longed for retirement, for solitary prayer, solitary meditation, and mystical experience. He never indulged, however, in this "extravagance" for any lengthy period of time—at any rate never at the expense of what he considered his duty and his debt to India.

Buddha possessed *exaltation* without *loving-kindness*—how can I compare to him Gandhi, in whose soul loving-kindness was the foremost drive? Jesus of Nazareth (if we know him, or in so far as we know him) was possessed by a stream of ecstatic vagrancy, which took as its pattern the "carefree" birds of the air and the lilies of the field—how can I compare to him Gandhi, the perpetual co-sufferer and co-martyr? For Buddha, "Caesar" simply did not exist. He withdrew so far into the lonely trails of the Himalayan altitudes, that he became completely unaware of him. For the Nazarene, "Caesar" was a strongly entrenched and hated reality; he therefore decided to *ignore* him: Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's (or what Caesar claims as his due), and let him leave you in peace, so that you may be "free" to live in the invisible Kingdom of Heaven. Gandhi did not ignore "Caesar." He did not seek to "bribe" him or pay him a "ransom." His passionate aim was to destroy tyranny, to unseat Caesar from his throne—but with Gandhi's own, "un-Caesarian" weapons. Instead of being a *sadhu*, he became a social crusader.

I remarked earlier that if there are really reincarnations, Gandhi was more probably a reincarnation of Asoka, of that Indian Emperor who, three centuries before the Christian era, sought to embody his vision of the Kingdom of Heaven through historical realization, in a new social creation, in legislation, *in the framework of a state*. That epoch in the history of India is—for me, at least—a very obscure chapter, and I do not know to what extent that sovereign-genius succeeded in clothing his dream in flesh and bones. Yet

I know at what Asoka aimed : to establish a state in which there would be—if I may use Hebrew terms—no contradiction between “the measure of law” and “the measure of mercy,” where law itself would be suffused with mercy. Upon *ahimsa*, upon the three-thousand-year old ideal which sprang up in a unique form in India, upon the principle of not-killing, not-injuring, not-causing pain, upon the idea of an all-embracing loving-kindness, he sought to build up the constitution and the mechanism of the state. And it is in this “paradoxical” way that Gandhi also set out to make his life’s journey in our generation.

The tragedy of our age—and not of our age alone—is the thick wall which we ourselves have erected between the transcendental world and the process of history, between ends and means, between what some of us experience as eternal and the everyday stream of life, between religion, ethics, and esthetics on one hand, and politics (in the broadest sense of the world), on the other hand. It is that wall which Gandhi sought to destroy. He knew, perhaps more grievously than others in our generation, that that wall cannot entirely be removed. The absolute and the relative will never be able to merge and become one. He believed, however, that everyday acts and deeds can be suffused with elements of the Absolute, and that it is impossible to live and bear a world in which holiness is a sort of remote and isolated “reservation” which is beyond contact with the broad highways of life.

Such a view is not foreign to Jewish religious tradition. May I remind you that despite the long chronicle of suffering and humiliation in Jewish history, we have until now triumphed through our martyrdom. For two thousand years, Jews have practiced *ahimsa*. Some call it “passive resistance,” but in reality it has nothing to do with passivity or acquiescence. Jewish passive resistance against enemies and oppressors who were immeasurably stronger physically than we were, constituted *activity* in the highest degree : self-concentration upon a truth ; fixed determination not to renounce that truth, not to betray it for untruth (or what we regarded as untruth), not to capitulate even when we faced physical annihilation, the gallows, burning at the stake—all this is a far higher and more intense degree of vitality, of doing, *battling* and *combating*, than the use of weapons and physical force.

The Jewish conception of *Kiddush ha-Shem* (sanctifying the Ineffable Name) signifies not merely readiness for sacrifice, for triumphant death. It is also an urge to keep life holy. Not to preserve sanctity shut away in a special tabernacle, to be opened only at intervals, and then seal it away once more, but to keep the source of sanctity always open, and let it

shine forth into the everyday, penetrate the secular, imbue with its essence forces operating in history. What in Hindu religious feeling and in Gandhi’s religiosity is signified by *Dharma* corresponds to the place of the code, the *Shulchan Arukh*, in the Jewish way of life.

We shall not today assess to what extent Gandhi succeeded in his experiment. He had long-range vision and the patience of great faith. He planted seeds in the earth whose full fruit may perhaps be gathered generations later. But he gave the world—not only India—a demonstration of how to create a kind of “pipe-line” between the transcendental and the historical, how to fight for holy ends with means that are not in contradiction to the nature of the ends.

From the procession which yesterday followed his deadbody to the shore of the sacred river, cries were heard : “Victory for Gandhi.” The people of that million-headed mass who uttered those cries knew that a few hours later only a meagre heap of ashes would be left of Gandhi’s body. Yet they believe that “somewhere” he still lives, that his spirit is indestructible, and that that spirit will still achieve great triumphs—in us, through us, for us.

What can I add to such a manifestation of faith ?

I know that you permit me to end with the three Hebrew words with which Jews honor the memory of their great :

“*Zekher tzadik li-vrakhah*,” Blessed be his sainted memory.

The Mind of Thomas Jefferson

In an article in the *Unity*, April 1946, Leonard B. Gray pays tribute to the great philosopher and scientist President, the third President who was one of the committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence of America :

Thomas Jefferson was one of the most cultivated men of his day. He was aristocratic, scholarly, reserved, retiring, unostentatious. He did not mingle intimately with the common people as did Abraham Lincoln. He did not write for the newspapers as some of his great contemporaries such as Alexander Hamilton did. His only book was *Notes on Virginia*, of which only two hundred copies were printed and distributed among a circle of carefully chosen friends. He was, at least until he became President of his country, a poor speaker, and seldom made a speech inside or outside of legislative halls. John Adams said that during his whole time in Congress he never heard Jefferson utter three sentences together. In short,

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Jefferson possessed few of the characteristics of a typical public figure and he made no efforts to win public attention or favor. Yet the common people of his day loved and trusted him. And his influence upon history is tremendous and immortal. Today he is generally regarded as one of the greatest of Americans, and some fine minds regard him as our greatest. These facts are both an evidence of and a tribute to the essential greatness of our third President. They bear witness to the true instinct of the masses of Jefferson's day and to the unerring judgment of posterity. They show us once again that, in the main, fine attitudes and great deeds speak louder than striving for effect or a multitude of words.

"Yes, the people," to use Carl Sandburg's great phrase, can be relied upon. The people, in whom Jefferson like Lincoln believed and in whom Hamilton did not, can be trusted in the long run to choose the best values and the best leaders. The people knew that the dominant passion of this great Virginian was for freedom and that he had pledged himself to fight every form of tyranny over the mind of man. They knew well his deep, unfaltering trust in them. His faith in their essential goodness and in their ability to set things right inspired them to live up to his faith in them. His faith in them drew back to himself their faith in him. Yes, the people, said this great humanitarian, are to be relied upon.

Today how grateful we are that such a man as Jefferson appeared on the American scene in the beginning of our history as a republic! We know that the roots of the American democracy were largely in him and in his type of mind. Lawyer, mathematician, inventor, expert mechanic, astronomer, architect, musician, farmer, botanist, paleontologist, zoologist, anthropologist, geologist, legislator, natural philosopher, writer, and educator, he was as versatile as Benjamin Franklin. It is not generally known today that he was the first man to put plow-making on a scientific basis. And many other fine marks on his record are little known. His was an inquiring mind, a well-stored mind, a universal mind. Like Bacon and Goethe, he made all knowledge his field in which to roam and to feel at home.

Never had the old Virginia college, William and Mary, known such an inquisitive student as young Jefferson. At first he gave himself to a gay social life in which he developed a certain foppishness. But after his first year he settled down to hard work, often studying fifteen hours a day. His avid mind had an appetite for everything from Greek grammar to Newtonian physics and calculus, from Plato which he read in the Greek to Ossian, the rude bard of the

North, who early became his favourite poet. He studied Anglo-Saxon to get at the roots of the common law.

There at college Jefferson developed a type of mind that loved truth and accepted nothing on hearsay, a type of mind that was never to leave him. Our student was interested in everything and absorbed everything, but Bacon, Newton, and Locke became his favourite authors. In his student days he acquired the tastes, interests, and attitudes that were to make him our only philosopher-President. He was building the mind that many years later was to stand out in such sharp contrast to the mind of Alexander Hamilton. This striking contrast began to show itself in the following incident: The two men were dining at the home of Vice-President John Adams. The brilliant, self-confident Hamilton was dominating the conversation as usual. Presently Adams voiced the opinion that with a few abuses corrected the British would be the most perfect constitution of government ever devised by the brains of man. With its defects the British is the most perfect, Hamilton stoutly asserted. Jefferson thought that both views were dangerous nonsense. What with a corrupt Parliament, most of the land owned by a comparatively few landlords, and suppressed press and opinion, he thought that there was precious little self-government or equality in England. And then looking around at the portraits on the walls of the room Hamilton asked: "Whose are they?" "The portraits of Bacon, Newton, and Locke," said Jefferson, "and they are my trinity of the three great men the world has produced." Hamilton was thoughtful for a time and then burst out in his dogmatic manner: "The greatest man that ever lived was Julius Caesar." Thus each mind took the measure of the other. No wonder that these two great minds were soon to clash, that these two men were soon to become two of the bitterest opponents in all history.

In his day Jefferson was accused of deriving most of his ideas from foreign sources, especially from the French. And today I frequently talk with people who believe that his political philosophy was largely shaped by French influence. Now to be sure, as John Dewey says, French influence was unmistakably stamped upon him. And yet we ought also to bear in mind that much that he saw in France influenced him against that country and its government. His universal mind did glean from almost every field of thought. He chose his favorite authors from many lands and literatures. Bacon and Locke strengthened his natural passion for reason and truth. But for all the many influences that played upon him, his mind was chiefly American-made. It was his American mind that derived his affirmation of human rights from his Saxon forefathers whom he thoroughly studied. The Anglo-Saxons, he learned, had established their principles of liberty and natural rights of man before

and now their natural enlightenment about a long series of abuses such as feudalism, monarchy, and caste. And now our great democrat would revindicate and restore the "happy system of our ancestors" on a new soil.

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and John Adams were appointed a committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson with his "peculiar felicity of expression" was naturally chosen by the other members to compose the Declaration. In a stuffy parlor on the second floor of a bricklayer's house on Market Street, Philadelphia, from June 11 to June

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28, 1776, this young man of thirty-three secluded himself. What great days those seventeen were!! Tirelessly his pen scratched. Carefully he chose each word, carefully he carved and polished each sentence, seriously aware that each counted as indeed it did. With the precision of his scientific mind he produced the fine, clear, meticulous script. The work was personal and unmistakably his. But it was much more than his, for he aimed to make it and did make it the voice of his compatriots and the expression of the American mind. This great second sentence! History knows no other words more loaded with dynamite than these:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Here was something new in the history of political doctrine, another object for which governments exist! In the triplex of political values the writer substituted "pursuit of happiness" for "property." He laid the foundation for a unique commonwealth of justice, freedom, and security. On July 2 Congress approved the Declaration. It was read in Independence Square, Philadelphia. Copies were published in every community of the thirteen colonies that had suddenly been made states. Without knowing it the great mind of Thomas Jefferson had created an immortal.

Jefferson accomplished many great tasks as member of his state legislature, as member of Congress, as governor of his state, as our Ambassador to France, as Secretary of State, as Vice-President and President of the United States, and as a private citizen. But it is clear what he considered his three greatest accomplishments, for he caused this to be written on his tombstone at Monticello:

Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statue of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and father of the University of Virginia.

And yet Jefferson's greatest contribution was his own type of mind. It was his faith in the worth and possibilities of people that was the fountain from which flowed each of the three contributions for which he wished to be remembered. And in turn it is his faith in people that will keep these three contributions alive. Always his love for truth, humanity, and freedom is attacked from within our borders and from without, and always we must defend this

love if we would truly honor him and build a better world. It is his love for truth that will keep free inquiry alive. It is his love for men that will make the value of human personality dominant and judge everything by its power to serve the good of men. His mind in us will dedicate wealth, politics, science, industry, and every word and deed not to the hurt but to the welfare of man.

And now the release of atomic power with its staggering possibilities of affecting our daily lives for ill or good challenges us as we have never been challenged before to get the spirit of this scientist who loved man more than science and to dedicate all the power that nature puts into our hands for the enrichment of human beings. The greatest monument then that we can build to our first great democrat is to develop his type of mind. To erect this monument is our supreme task.

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